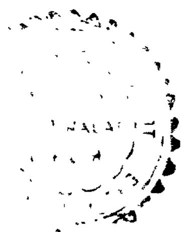


THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,

EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BART., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.

HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
FORMERLY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY,

AND

STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.,

FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

AND

PROF. RAO SAHEB S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.,

HONORARY CORRESPONDENT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Published under the authority of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

INDEX
TO
VOL. LV.—1926.



BOMBAY:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MAZGAON.

LONDON:

BERNARD QUARITCH, LIMITED, 11 GRAFTON STREET,
NEW BOND STREET, W.

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANEA.

BOOK-NOTICES.

BOOK-NOTICES.—*contd.*

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPPLEMENTS.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS.

PLATES AND A MAP.

// THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
VOLUME LV—1926

A MANUSCRIPT HISTORY OF THE RULERS OF JINJI.

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

I HAD occasion recently to scrutinize a Manuscript in the India Office Library, bearing the words "Mackenzie Collection, December 3rd, 1833, No. 38." The existing catalogue of that well-known collection, which was prepared many years ago, does not include this particular manuscript, which has hitherto escaped scrutiny and elucidation. The manuscript, which is written on country-made paper in the Modi character and is in several places difficult to decipher, owing to the bad writing of the scribe and the attacks of white ants, bears on its title-page the English words "Account of the Chengy Rajahs." The identity of the scribe or author is unknown, and there is no clue thereto in the manuscript, which purports to be a *kaifiyat* or record of the rulers of Chandî (Chengy), or in modern spelling, of Ginjee or Jinji in the Arcot district of the Madras Presidency. Readers of this *Journal* may be interested in learning the main facts set forth in the MS., so far as I was able to elucidate them.

The narrative commences with the statement that during the reign of Kṛishṇa Râyel of Ânegondî, a certain Vijayaranga Nâik[1] came with a permit to Chandî (Jinji) and there secured a *jâgîr*. He cleared the forest, amassed riches, and effected the settlement of Chandî. In *Fasli* 852 [=A.D. 1445] a Dhangar named Anandakona, who was searching for some stray flocks belonging to his tribe, met a *Mahâpurusha*, who informed him that by his exertions Chandî was destined to become a great place, and that he should straightway go to Vijayaranga Nâik. In accordance with this prophecy, the kingdom of Chandî was established with the help of Anandakona, whose son, Tristapitla, became prime minister of the Chandî kingdom.

Before proceeding further with the narrative, there are one or two points in the above abridged extract which require examination. First, by Kṛishṇa Râyel of Ânegondî the writer is probably referring to the great Kṛishṇadevarâya of Vijayanagar (A.D. 1509–29). Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, with whom I have corresponded on the matter, agrees with me regarding this identification, but adds that Jinjî had probably possessed a government and a ruling line long before the date of Kṛishṇadevarâya, "almost from the commencement of Vijayanagar." This probability, coupled with the definite statement in the MS. that Anandakona, the Dhangar, received his summons to Jinjî in *Fasli* 852, which should correspond with 1445 A.D., leads to the inference that the scribe is shaky in his chronology and that the foundation of Jinjî as a kingdom must have occurred before the reign of Kṛishṇadevarâya of Vijayanagar. The fact that several of the dates given in the MS. conflict with those now generally accepted confirms the view that the chronology of this MS. must be received with caution. Professor S. K. Aiyangar points out that Tiruvannamalai was one of the headquarter stations of the last Hoysala ruler, and that in the time of Kumara-Kampana, who was in power a little later, Jinjî must have become a place of some importance, as there was a Brahman governor named Gopana, of Nârâyaṇavanam near Chandragiri, ruling over the locality. We may, therefore, assume that the actual establishment of a settled government at Jinjî took place at some date anterior to the reign of Kṛishṇadevarâya, possibly in the reign of Devarâya II (A.D. 1424–1446).

1 According to one account, Jinjî was built on an old foundation of the Chola kings in 1442 by Vijayaranga Nâik, governor of Tanjore.

The second point of interest is concerned with the tribe of Dhangars or Shepherds, to which Anandakona is declared to have belonged. The Dhangars have played a large, though hitherto undetermined, part in the history of southern and south-western India. In his paper on the *Origin of the Pallavas of Kanchi,* Professor S. K. Aiyangar has shown that in the earliest times referred to in ancient Tamil literature, an important stratum of cattle-rearing and sheep-owing tribes lived across the northern boundaries of the ancient Tamil land, and were known to the early Tamils by names which clearly indicated their association with those pursuits. We know that the Yâdavas of Devgiri are familiarly termed, even in these days, the " Gauli Râj " ; and other scattered references seem to indicate that from very early days this part of India contained a large body of tribesmen, known as Dhangar, Gauli, etc., whose main occupation was the rearing of domestic animals, who were grouped under chieftains of their own, and who from time to time contrived to establish principalities of varying permanence. As regards Jinjî, Professor Aiyangar informs me that according to tradition, the place is said to have been ruled by a dynasty of Shepherds before the rise of the Naik dynasties, and inasmuch as *kona* or *konar* is the caste-designation of the shepherd, he regards the name Anandakona, mentioned in the MS., as embodying a reminiscence of that rule. The problem of the origin and history of these cattleherd and shepherd tribes, and their connexion with the Marâthâs of the Deccan and Carnatic, still awaits exhaustive enquiry ; and it may be discovered that, as declared by W. H. Tone at the close of the eighteenth century, the Dhangars and Gaulis formed an important element in the congeries of tribes, which were welded by Sivâjî into a militant race under the general name of Marâthâ.

To revert to the MS., we are next informed that the families of Vijayaranga Nâîk and Anandakona enjoyed undisputed possession of Chandî (Jinjî) for 225 years, *i.e.*, to *Fasli* 1077, and that the names of Vijayaranga's successors were as follows :—

Fasli 883 (A.D. 1476) Mutlyâl Nâîk.
,, 918 (,, 1516) Kṛishṇapâ Nâîk.
,, 943 (,, 1536) Chenam Nâîk.
,, 962 (,, 1555) Vijayapâ Nâîk.
,, 987 (,, 1580) Gaṅgama Nâîk.
Fasli 1012 (A.D. 1605) Venkat Kṛishṇa Nâîk.
,, 1032 (,, 1625) Venkat Râm Nâîk.
,, 1052 (,, 1645) Trimbakmal Kṛishṇapâ Nâîk.
,, 1062 (,, 1655) Vardapâ Nâîk.

In *Fasli* 1077 (A.D. 1670), according to the MS., Chandî (Jinjî) was seized under the orders of Âlamgîr (Aurangzeb) by Abar Khân (Ambar Khân ?) and three other Musalman generals. Then the Marâthâs came to the rescue under Sivâjî and Nîlkanth Râo (?), who killed the four Musalman Sardars and took possession of Chandî.

There are various lacunæ in this account. For example, nothing is said about the capture of the Jinjî Fort in 1638 by Bandaullah Khân, the Bîjâpur general, which arose out of an attempt by Tirumala Nâîk of Madura to seize it with the assistance of the armies of the Golkonda kingdom. The division of the Bîjâpur army, which captured the Fort, was commanded by Shâhjî, father of Sivâjî ; and it is generally understood that from that date (A.D. 1638) Jinjî became one of the headquarters of the Marâthâs under Bîjâpur. If therefore the MS. account is approximately accurate, the power of the last three Nâîks in the above list must have been merely nominal. Whether the Muhammadans under Aurangzeb's orders seized Jinjî in 1670 or not, it is unquestionable that in 1677 Sivâjî contrived to obtain possession of the Fort, which remained in Marâthâ hands for the next two decades or more. The MS. gives the names of the four Muhammadan Sardars as " Abar Khân " (Ambar Khân), " Maphukhân," " Govikhân," and " Murataphakhân " (perhaps Multafat Khân or Mustafa Khân), and mentions that Shâhjî conquered Chandî in *Fasli* 1100, *i.e.*, A.D. 1661, which is obviously wrong.

It then proceeds to relate that in *Fasli* 1082 (A.D. 1675 ?), under Sivâjî's orders, Râjâ Râm, son of Sivâjî, became ruler of Chandî. Sivâjî himself then returned to Poona. Later Âlamgîr (Aurangzeb) despatched Zilfikar (Zulfikar Khân) against Râjâ Râm, who was defeated and fled to Poona in *Fasli* 1108 (A.D. 1701). Zulfikar Khân changed the name of Chandî to Nasratgarh. From that date Chandî remained in the possession of the Muhammadans.

Here again the chronology seems faulty, and the statement that Râjâ Râm became ruler of Jinjî seems to be at variance with the account in Kistnâjî Anant Sabhasad's *bakhar* or life of Sivâjî. According to the latter, " Jinjî was a metropolitan city like Bîjâpur and Bhâganagar (Golconda). The Râje (*i.e.*, Sivâjî) ought to have remained there. But there was a vast kingdom on this side also. It was necessary to preserve that. Therefore the Brahman Raghunâth Nârâyan was appointed *majumdar* of the entire kingdom, and he was posted at Jinjî, with that province under his charge. As he needed an army for the time being, Hambîr Râo was stationed (there) with his army, and the Râje set out from Jinjî with the two generals, Anand Râv and Mânajî More." In all probability Raghunâth Nârâyan was in immediate charge of the Fort, under the general orders of Râjâ Râm, who is declared by Grant Duff (vol. I. 291f, Oxford Univ. Press, 1921) to have defeated an attack by Amîr-ul-umra Kasam Khân, some little time prior to Zulfikar Khân's expedition. As regards the date of Râjâ Râm's defeat and flight to Poona (Kincaid and Parasnis state that he made his way to Vishâlgarh, not to Poona), the writer of the MS. seems to err by about three to five years. According to the latest edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, it appears that the armies of the Mughal Emperor under Zulfikar Khân laid siege to Jinjî in 1690. The siege lasted for eight years, and the Fort, which was eventually captured in 1698, thenceforward became the headquarters of the Muhammadan standing army in the province of Arcot. The MS. states that Zulfikar Khân was accompanied by Daud Khân on this expedition against Jinjî.

Although, according to the MS., the Fort and the surrounding country remained in Musalman hands after Râjâ Râm's defeat, mention is made of a certain Svarup Singh, Râjput, in *Fasli* 1121 (A.D. 1714), and a successor, Tej Singh, who, so far as can be deciphered, were in charge of Jinjî during the early years of the eighteenth century. These Râjputs, father and son, were successively governors of the town and fort of Jinjî. It is worth remark, that in the article on Jinjî in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, it is stated that the *genius loci* is one Desing Râja, who, according to a local ballad, was an independent ruler of Jinjî. In consideration of his skill in horsemanship, Aurangzeb is stated to have remitted all tribute, and Desing Râja continued in practically unfettered control of Jinjî, until he was attacked and slain by the Nawab of the Carnatic. Desing Râja of the ballad is clearly identical with Tej Sing Râjput, son of Svarup Singh, and we know from other sources that he broke allegiance to the Nawab of Arcot and declared his independence[2]. But the dates in the MS. must be wrong; for Aurangzeb, who died in 1707, cannot have shown favour to a Hindu chieftain who, according to the MS., did not appear on the scene till after 1714. The Moḍi script is far from easy to decipher, and I may possibly be in error on this point as well as the scribe, who is certainly not over-accurate in the matter of dates.

The MS. ends abruptly with the capture of Jinjî by Tipu Sultan; which is stated to have taken place in *Fasli* 1199, *i.e.*, A.D. 1792. Prior to that date, as we learn from other sources, it was seized by the French under Bussy in 1750, who held it for eleven years (*i.e.*, until 1761), when the English took possession of it. In 1780 it was surrendered to Haidar Ali. The concluding words of the MS. may be translated as follows :—

" Thereafter again in *Fasli* 1199 Tipu Sultan came. He broke the guns, burned the gates and the town also, and utterly destroyed the artillery-parks in the three forts. They lie in ruin below those forts. A list of the contents of Chandi follows."

The list, which contains nine items, apparently shows the situation of the various guns in Jinjî. Thus abruptly ends the manuscript. It would be interesting to learn whether any other manuscripts or documents, relating to the history of Jinjî, corroborate any of the main statements in the Mackenzie MS., so far as I have been able to decipher them. The story of the foundation of Jinjî, and of the Nâik dynasty and their Dhangar ministers, seems to me to deserve a closer and more detailed enquiry.

2 See article on Jinjî by the Revd. H. Heras, *ante*, pp. 41-43 (March 1925).

MOSLEM EPIGRAPHY IN THE GWALIOR STATE.

BY RAMSINGH SAKSENA.

Introductory Note.

ALL those interested in the ancient history of India owe a great debt of gratitude to the late Maharaja Sir Madhav Rao Sindia of the Gwalior State for the help and encouragement he gave to archæology. The state territories, as is well known, extend from the Chambel near Dholpur in the north to the Narbadâ in the south, a territory of great renown in the ancient past, though the history of the country has been largely lost through constant wars. Now, however, thanks to His late Highness, an archæological department has been for some time at work, unearthing the missing history. There have been two archæological surveys, which have between them yielded a rich treasure of information, dating as far back as B.C. 200, from architectural remains, such as *stûpas*, monoliths, rock-cut caves with frescoes, etc.; epigraphical records, the most important being the famous inscription on the Heliodorus pillar at Besnagar; and sites of ancient cities, like Videśa, Tumbâvana, Ujjayinî, Daśapura (Mandsaur) and others, where important numismatic finds have taken place, which have chalked out promising fields for further research.

The important Sanskrit Inscriptions, have been properly edited by eminent orientalists, such as Drs. Kielhorn, Fleet and others; but the Persian Inscriptions are of no less value and have unfortunately remained practically untouched so far. In respect to these last, the southern part of the Gwalior State, *viz.*, Ujjain and beyond, better known as Mâlwâ, on account of its past grandeur and immense riches, has always attracted ambitious rulers from all parts of India. The neighbouring Muhammadan kings of Gujarât and the more distant rulers of Delhi were among those who coveted Mâlwâ and attacked it, succeeding at times in establishing their sway over the territory. It is for this reason that the earlier Persian Inscriptions are mostly found in Mâlwâ rather than in Gwalior.

The Persian Inscriptions do not appear to have attracted the attention they deserve. Casual notices here and there are all I have come across, and I now propose to deal with them categorically.

I.—Two inscriptions of Muhammad III Ibn Tughlaq of Delhi.

These two inscriptions were first noticed in the *Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, vols. VII and X, pp. 68, 69, as early as 1874–76, but to the best of my information have never been properly edited.

As is usual in the case of Muhammadan Inscriptions, they consist of raised letters, and are on slabs of red sandstone over two small archways in front of, but detached from, an old mosque, at the back of the great Udayêśvara Temple at Udaypur—now a decayed town in the Bhilsa District of the Gwalior State, four miles by road from Bareth Railway Station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and possessing important and interesting archæological monuments.

Each inscription covers a space of 4′-1½″ by 1′-2¼″, and consists of three lines of *Naskh* characters. The first line of each is a quotation from the *Mishkât Sharif*, and the remainder, which forms the record proper, is in Persian.

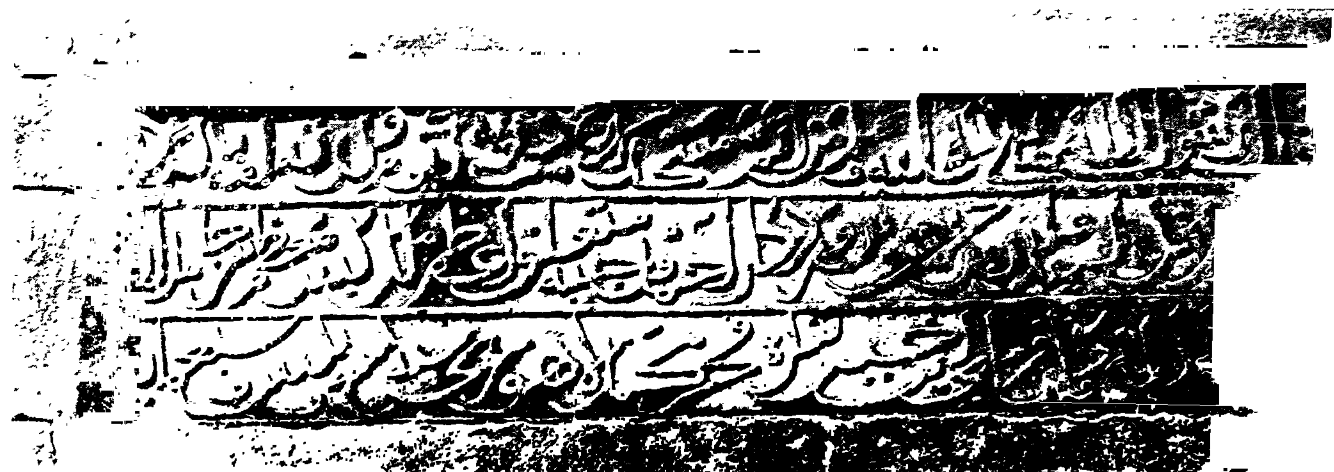
Inscription No. 1 records that a mosque (obviously that in front of which the inscribed archway stands) was built during the reign of Muḥammad *ibn* Tughlaq by Aḥmad Wajih. Inscription No. 2 records that the mosque was constructed by Aḥmad Wajih, officer of the Jâmdârkhâna of the great king, under the supervision of (the architect) Fakhr Muḥammad of Lahore. Inscription No. 1 has been read as dated A.H. 737 (A.C. 1337) and No. 2 as A.H. 739 in *CASR.*, Vol. X, p. 68.

The importance of the inscriptions lies in the fact that that they assign different dates to one and the same building. According to Brigg's *Farishta*, vol. I, pp. 418-19, Muḥammad *ibn* Tughlaq, A.C. 1325—1351, sent an expedition against his nephew, Bahâu'ddîn,

INSCRIPTIONS
AT THE MOSQUE BEHIND THE
UDAYESVARA TEMPLE AT UDAYPUR
IN THE GWALIOR STATE
DATED A.H. 739 AND 737.



Plate II



R. SAKSENA.

better known as Koorshasip, who rebelled and attacked some of the chiefs of Mâlwâ about A.H. 735 (A.C. 1335). And it would seem that Muḥammad *ibn* Tughlaq passed through Udaypur on his way to Mâlwâ and ordered the construction of the mosque, leaving Aḥmad Wajih to see to the execution of the project, and thus Aḥmad Wajih set up Inscription No. 1 in A.H. 737 to mark the year of the king's visit, as well as that of laying the foundation of the mosque. Inscription No. 2 would naturally have been set up two years later, in A.H. 739, marking the completion of the building.

The situation of the archways, the almost identical wording of the two inscriptions, and the omission of the king's name in Inscription No. 2, suggest that Inscription No. 2 is only supplementary to Inscription No. 1, and that the composer omitted the kings' name in No. 2 simply to make room for the architect's name—without disfiguring the general form of the two inscriptions. He made up the omission by describing Aḥmad Wajih as the officer of the Jâmdârkhâna of the great king.

Moreover, in the *Naksh* script, سبع (7) and تسع (9) are so very similar that a little carelessness on the part of the stone-mason could have brought about the writing of the one for the other. On the other hand, the preparation of separate inscriptions for the commencement and completion of a building does not appear to be frequent. Thus it is still possible to read the date of Inscription No. 1 as A.H. 739.

Of the persons named in these inscriptions, Muḥammad *ibn* Tughlaq is the well-known Muḥammad III *ibn* Tughlaq, A.C. 1325—1351, the second king of the Tughlaq line of the earlier Sulṭâns of Delhi. I have not been able to trace Aḥmad Wajih in the books at my disposal. According to Inscription No. 2, he may be taken to be the Tan Jâmdârkhâna (officer or keeper of the Royal Robes), who used to be an essential member of the king's train.

My reading of the inscriptions is as under :—

Inscription No. 1.

(۱) قال النبی صلی اللّه علیه وسلّم من بنا مسجد فی الدنیا بنا اللّه تعالی قصراً

(۲) فی الجنة - بنا این مسجد در عهد دولت خلافت سلطان السلاطین ابو المجاهد

(۳) محمد ابن تغلق شاه السلطان خلدت خلافته بانی این خیر بنده احمد وجیه صانع اللّه شانه

سنه - سبع [تسع] و ثلثین سبعمایة -

Translation.

Hath said the Prophet, may God's peace and blessings rest upon him: "He who builds a *masjid* in this world, God Almighty builds (for him) a palace in Paradise." (Was built) this mosque during the reign and *khilâfat* (viceroyalty of) sovereign of kings, Abû'l-Mujâhid (Father of Warriors) Muḥammad son of Tughlaq, may his rule and kingdom be perpetuated. The builder of this pious (work is the) humble Aḥmad Wajih, (may) God enhance his dignity. (In the) year 737 (739).

Inscription No. 2.

(۱) قال رسول اللّه صلی اللّه علیه و سلم من اتم مسجداً خرج من ذنوبه کیوم ولدته امه - بنا کرد

(۲) این مسجد بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار احمد وجیه متعلق اعظم ملک کبیر معظم تن جامدار

(۳) خانه مکنه اللّه - کار فرمای این خیر بنده فخر محمد لاهوری - سنه تسع و ثلثین و سبعمایة -

Translation.

Hath said the Apostle of God, may God's blessings and peace rest upon him : "Whosoever completes a *masjid* is redeemed of all his debts, as if his mother had (at the very moment, *i.e.*, of completion) given him birth." (Caused to) build this mosque, the humble and expectant of God's mercy Aḥmad Wajih, connected with the generous king (who is) exalted and great, officer of Jâmdârkhâna : may the Almighty strengthen him (in his station in life). Supervisor (one in immediate charge, as architect of the present day) of this pious (work is) Fakhr Muḥammad of Lâhor. (In the) year 739.

(To be continued.)

SPIRIT WORSHIP IN THE NILGIRIS.

BY RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.

ABOUT twenty years ago there existed in a small ravine among the Nilgiri hills a curious family, who were "Pariahs" of an unknown low-class origin, but they claimed that two of the members were spirit-possessed and had as such certain definite spiritual powers :—

(1) to foretell the future,
(2) to cure diseases,
(3) to exorcise devils (demons),
(4) to give children to barren women,
(5) to regulate the sex of unborn children,
(6) to grant desires,
(7) to ward off impending calamities.

It was observed that so great was the influence of the family locally, that even educated Brâhmans and their women-kind, who were otherwise too punctilious to touch a Sûdra, or water brought by a Sûdra, freely mixed with this family of Pariahs, who were "untouchables," and accepted from their hands portions of fruits and leavings for their own use.

The family is shown in the accompanying plate. The head of it is wearing a Pârsî's coat and a turban on his head. He called himself a *pujârî* (officiating priest at a temple) or worshipper. His eldest son, who is also wearing a turban, was a farmer, and cultivated a piece of land purchased for Rs. 1,500, acquired as fees or cash offerings from the numerous devotees of the family. The younger son and the younger daughter standing beside him in the centre of the Plate, bearing wreaths round their necks, were known as *swâmis* or gods. The second girl, a grand-daughter of the Pujârî, was being initiated into the mysteries, so as to become possessed.

The Swâmi son represents, *i.e.*, he was possessed by, Mariamma, the Goddess of Cholera, and the Swâmi daughter by Kani-amma, the Virgin Goddess. Mariamma was described as a widow, resenting any control, and guiding Kaniamma (*kanya* = a virgin). Kaniamma was described as fair, young, good-looking, well-dressed, attractive, *i.e.*, she has a pleasing countenance and a pleasant smiling face. But Mariamma was known as ferocious, wild, dreadful to look at, indeed terrible in appearance and very active.

The family possessed a substantial residence with brick walls and a tiled roof, and also a small hut covered with bamboo matting on supports from branches of trees growing in the vicinity. The hut is shown in the Plate behind the figures. In the middle of this hut stood a low mud wall about 18 inches high and shaped something like a horse-shoe, thus ⊃ . In the centre of the horse-shoe stood Mariamma—a small stone figure, about nine inches high, wrapped in a skein of country-spun cotton thread, with a little silver trident in her right hand and something unrecognised in her left hand. In front of this figure stood a small table on two legs, about nine inches long and two broad, consisting of a silver plate embossed with seven figures of goddesses. The legs of the table were remarkable, as they were of copper and looked like a pair of long boots with silver anklets. The figures embossed on the table represent Kaniamma and her six companions or playmates. On either side of Mariamma and the Kaniamma group were the offerings of the devotees,—cane sticks with silver mountings, rattles, baskets made of bamboos or palm leaf, and toys. On either side of the horse-shoe enclosure stood a scythe, and there was a sword placed in front of it.

Such was the oracle in form. The process of using it, as I saw it, was as follows. The girl seated herself on a mat and began moving her body with a rotating motion from right to left and *vice versâ*, her hair loose and flowing all round her head and face as she moved. Her father, the Pujârî, meanwhile beat a drum shaped like an hour-glass, and helped her by interpreting her oracular sayings. Incense was burnt in front of her and powdered turmeric

SPIRIT WORSHIP IN THE NILGIRIS
(A Spirit-possessed Family)



6 3 5 4 1 2

1. The father, the Pûjâri.
2. The mother.
3. The elder son, a farmer.
4. The younger son, possessed by Mariamma, the Goddess of Cholera.
5. The daughter, possessed by Kaniamma, the Maiden Goddess.
6. The grand-daughter, in partial possession.

Behind the figures is the hut of wooden supports covered with a bamboo-mat roof in which the images of Mariamma and Kaniamma are kept.

G. A. GUPTE.

was from time to time thrown over her. After making some curious gestures, depicting anger or pleasure as she glanced slyly from out of the veil formed by her hair, she took up a neat silver-mounted cane which had been placed near her, and holding it upright, she began to move it as if she were grinding corn. Then she shut her eyes and gave out in a sing-song tone her name and the object of the visit, *i.e.*, in her case of the possession by the spirit, with a movement of her arms which was half convulsive, half rotating.

Then we listened attentively to the oracle : " I am Kaniamma. I have come to bless my devotees. I am pleased with my visitor—the writer of these notes ! He is such a noble soul. He has full faith in me. On his first visit to me[1] I promised to see him at his residence, and you will see that I work the miracle of appearing to him in a dream with my Mariamma. He is a good man and a sincere devotee. I will grant him his requests. Has he any to make ? "

The reply through an interpreter was : " No. He has no request to make, but wishes that a dream be properly interpreted to him. In the dream you appeared to him like a young woman of high degree and made an impossible request. What could be the meaning of this ? "

Then said the Goddess : " Did I make any other demand ? "

The reply was : " No ".

Goddess : " I wish a solid temple to be built in this place and beautiful ornaments to be given to me ".

Reply : " But this was not what you asked him to grant. Why did you make such an unnatural request ? Why did you not ask him direct for such things ? What can be the meaning of that request ? "

The Goddess was silent. Her representative could not guess what request she was supposed to have made, and the interpreter had been warned not to disclose it to her. She now violently rotated her head in such a way as to be able to throw searching glances at the interpreter and her questioner, but, poor thing, it was beyond her power to read the mind of her pseudo-devotee. At last she burst out with : " I will appear to him again this very night in a dream and tell him what I want ". And then she dropped her head to the ground.

But the Goddess was wanted, and the old Pûjâri, the girl's father, requested her not to go, as there was another customer present. This was a native Christian midwife with her daughter, but she came forewarned by me. So the girl resumed her rotating motions and her sing-song oracle. After a while the Goddess told her that she had already helped her once and should do so again. Then she gave the writer a flower, and a pinch of ashes to the Christian devotee. The Pûjâri, the medium's father was, however, not yet satisfied. He whispered a hint to her that my introducer and interpreter, an old Brâhman who accompanied me, had done so much for the family, also deserved recognition from the Goddess. The girl then gave him a lemon and a pinch of ashes, which he accepted with due reverence. Her final words were : " This highest of Hindu mortals, this Bhudev, this God upon the Earth, this educated man who speaks English and is employed in a responsible position—let my Goddess bless him ". After this our request to be allowed to photograph the family was granted and we returned home.

I will now relate the events that led up to the performance above related. They were even more interesting than the oracle as delivered by the poor girl, so easily hocussedeven when helped by a cunning father. One Friday the old Brâhman abovementioned, whom I may call Subrahmaṇyam, came to me and asked me to accompany him to an adjoining hill to see a fine *tamâsha* (*sic*),—*viz.*, a demoniacal performance by a Pariah girl, who, he said, was in spite of her birth as beautiful as a Brâhman girl. He said also that his wife and daughters were going, besides many " ladies ". As a student of ethnology, I felt of course greatly interested and said I would be ready in five minutes. We proceeded to the hut already mentioned, and there in

[1] To be described further on.

front of it I found a motley group of spectators and devotees—half a dozen Brâhman women, besides others of apparently high caste, and a similar number of men of the same classes, a band of native musicians and about thirty "aboriginal" and low caste men, women and children—all standing in a rough ring. In the centre were three figures under "possession," one man and two girls—the Pûjârî's younger son and the two girls already mentioned. They were dancing. The man was jumping about in a convulsive, furious, ferocious, wild way : the girls in a slow hesitating manner. I pitied the poor girls, who seemed tired out after a few minutes and moved their bodies very slowly. After a time they stopped, and one of them left the place.

She soon returned with five or six other girls, and they began moving round the one girl still "possessed", singing songs and keeping time with the drum by clapping their hands—all bending towards the erected figure. On the other side the possessed man was getting more and more furious. He strained his eyes, distorted his features by making awful grimaces, jumped and limped about, and shouted. The Pûjârî himself then gave a signal to some of the female spectators, who went to a little spring in the vicinity and brought some water in brass pots. This his son, as the male god, poured over his own head, and then he began to dance so violently that those who valued their clothes had to stand back. The ring naturally widened, and the stout gymnastic young fellow got more space for his antics. At last the possessed girl, who was still performing, became quite exhausted and began to lose her balance. The women present supported her, and some of them poured water over her feet, being careful to spare her new *sâḍi*, and made her an obeisance. She then moved as an ordinary human being and looked on as a spectator.

The man now had the whole field to himself, and presently he began to speak, and we all listened most attentively :—"There is a man here who thinks I am an impostor and that there is no divinity in such dancing. I will convince him. I will show him a miracle."

At this point the Pûjârî and his friends brought a blunt scythe from the hut and held it up, edge upwards. The young man, *i.e.*, the God, supported himself on the shoulders of these men and stood on the edge of the scythe. This was the miracle. He came off the scythe and began to move round the ring, ejaculating. : "I will show him. I will show my power. I will convince the sceptic." He then stopped in front of a man who had on a European coat and said : "You think I am an imposter. You said so on your way here. You want to test me. All right. I will show you what I am". The poor fellow beat his cheeks with his fingers in token of confession and submission, and was given a flower and blessed. I did not think he was an accomplice. He was merely lacking in moral courage.

The possessed man, as the God, then threw a searching glance at my perfectly blank countenance, moved a little and stopped near the Brâhmanîs and other high-caste women present and spoke to one of them, who stood forward : "You want a certain thing. I know it. You will soon get what you want". And then he gave a flower. He went through the same performance with one after another of them. To each he made the same statement in different words, always using guarded language in a vague manner. He never refused the requests.

After several journeys round the ring, the 'God' stopped in front of me and had the effrontery to ask me what I wanted. I replied: "Nothing". But the question was repeated in several forms :—

"Don't you want something for your property ?" "No".

"Don't you think of your family that you have left so far away ?" "No".

"Don't you want something you can't get ?" "No".

At last I saw some one whisper to him, and he must have told him something about a watch that I had lost, for he suddenly said very loudly: " Haven't you lost something ? "

" Yes ", I said, " but I am not worrying about it."

" Oh ! you don't care about it ", and looking at my watch fixedly: " You have got another and will get more. "

" Yes," I said, "the loss does not worry me."

" Will you give me your watch, if I discover the other ? "

" Yes. Here it is. Take it."

The ' God ' was apparently tired of me, for he passed on and there were more requests, more grants and more blessings. Presently he stopped again in front of me :

" Why did you come here ? "

" My friend asked me to come to see the worship, and, you see, here I am ".

At this point I had had enough, and so I slipped a four-anna piece into a plate carried behind the ' God ' by the Pûjârî. The ' God ' passed on, and the Pûjâri asked me if I wished to worship the images in the hut. I consented, and slipped another four-anna piece into the plate. Meanwhile the ' God ' went on dancing in the ring, and when I came out of the hut, he said: " You are a good devotee. You have full faith in me. If you will give the musicians a rupee, I come and perform at your own house." " All right," I said, " do come. " And so we parted.

Next day was a gala-day in front of my residence. Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians were present, and there was a grand *tamâsha*. I was assured by a friend that the ' God ' made forty rupees, besides receiving a head-load of offerings in kind that afternoon. I saw women coming with trays full of fruit and sweets, making requests and receiving promises in Delphic language, bowing to a man whom in ordinary circumstances they would not have touched. Not even would they have touched water polluted by his despised fingers. But when ' possessed ', he was a ' God', and I saw an old Brâhman woman give him half a plantain with her own hands, and retain the other half as *prasâd* (leavings). At the end of the *tamâsha* my old friend Subrahmanyam demanded three rupees for the musicians instead of one rupee as the ' God ' had suggested, and I had in the end to pay them two rupees. Such is the morality of the " possessed ".

Next morning Subrahmanyam came to me again with stories as to the requests which had been granted by the ' possessed ' man and other incidents.

(1) In the evening an impudent Musalman insulted the ' God ', and blood came out of his right eye, and he lost the sight of it.

(2) A woman asked for a son and was promised one at her next conception.

(3) A woman asked for promotion for her husband, and the ' God ' definitely promised to influence the Collector to make him a *tahsîldâr*.

(4) A woman had a child, whose eyes were closed by some disease. The ' God ' told her that the child would open its eyes that night, and it did.

(5) The wife of a certain official who was a graduate, said that her husband had become impotent and he was at once relieved of his impotence. " But " said old Subrahmanyam, " that man is a fool. He is a reformer, you know, and a sceptic, and actually quarrelled with his wife for going to the *tamâsha*. There are many educated men who have no sense ". Old Subrahmanyam was not an accomplice, but I thought him to be one of the dupes.

(6) the wife of a tailor was possessed by a demon and went to the ' God ' for relief. He called to the demon and commanded him to leave the woman. She was at once cured. Here old Subrahmanyam broke out into raptures: " What a miracle ! ".

And then he began to be expansive : " You are a good man, sir. Your high education has not spoilt you. The ' God ' is pleased with you, and you are a happy man. You see, he came to your house. God *is* God, after all. " He next began to expound the *Śâstrâs* thus : "Our *Śâstrâs* tell us the God goes himself to the houses of his real devotees. You know the story of Kabîr. I am very glad on your behalf and you have deserved his favour."

After this Subrahmanyam became personal : " The ' God ' has been very kind to my nephew-in-law. He is a very clever man and no other graduate can write English like him. He will be very useful to you. Haven't you a vacancy in your office, as he is just the man for your learned profession, and as the ' God ' has blessed you both, you will get on very well together ". The old man was quite equal to combining religion with business.

I now thought that I might find a way of learning more details of this style of worship by relating a dream I had had on the previous night. The purport of it was as follows :—A young Brâhman woman of about twenty years of age, well dressed and wearing valuable ornaments, opened the door of the room in which I was sleeping, followed by a widow dressed in white. I asked her who she was and she said that she was a Goddess. So I asked her why she came to my room. She replied that she wanted a son by me. Thereupon I explained to her the impossibility of a marriage between a Goddess and a married mortal like myself. She smiled and said she would appear again in another form. Then she disappeared with her companion.

The dream was clearly the result of my visit to the Pûjârî on the previous day and of the performances I had witnessed, in the course of which the women devotees had constantly asked for a son. But my old friend Subrahmanyam gave it quite a different meaning, and told every body of the " miracle " of the appearance of the Goddess to me in my dream. So at last I asked him to get it interpreted to me.

This brought the Pûjârî, his 'possessed' son and daughter, his wife and the elder farmer son, to me again. At my request the women were not told what my dream had been, and the Pûjârî tried his own hand at explaining and failed. It was then suggested that I should consult Kaniamma, the maiden goddess, but as she would ask the ladies of her devotees in the British Station, I was advised to go to the Pûjârî's hut again. So making up my mind to write an account of this Spirit-possessed family, I went with a few friends and a photographer, and as a result saw the performance with which this paper commences.

Finally, my friend Subrahmanyam attacked me again about his nephew-in-law and told me he would give twenty-five rupees to the goddess Kaniamma, if he got the tahsîldârship. Let us hope the supernatural interference of the Goddess of Cholera, for that is what Mariamma was, procured him the appointment. However, I took this statement to be a feeler to a request that I would consider the question of building the stone temple the Pûjâri wanted and giving valuable ornaments to his daughter, the sable maiden of fifteen who represented Kaniamma.

In the sequel Subrahmanyam gave out that the " impudent " Muhammadan had died of the bleeding from his eyes, until I showed him quite healthy and very lively. My stolen watch was never recovered, but nevertheless the ' God's ' family of the Pariah caste left me quite pleased with themselves. Fruit, sweets and a little *bakhshîsh* in the shape of cash and a copy of the photograph did the trick. But it was the prospect of appearing in print in a book some day, which was the really solid reason for being pleased with me.[2]

[2] [A prospect of appearing in a book has great attractions for Orientals in remote situations. During the Afghan War in 1878-1879 I was employed as an " intelligence officer," and I found the simplest way to get at the hearts of the people was to solemnly take down their pedigrees. This made them at once friends, as I explained I was writing a book on the country. It also incidentally made my notes quite safe and enabled me to go about openly with a note book and writing materials—R.C.T.]

IDAR AND MAHARANA HAMMIRA OF MEWAR.

BY RAM RATAN HALDER.

HAMMIRA was a famous ruler of Mewâr and was the first to assume the title of Mahârâṇâ. He succeeded to the throne shortly after S. 1382 (A.D. 1325). That is to say, the exact date of his accession is not settled. In the bardic chronicles and Tod's *Râjasthân*, the date is given as S. 1357 (A.D. 1301). This seems, however, to be questionable, as from an inscription[1] dated S. 1358 (A.D. 1301), found at Chitor, it is clear that the ruler of Chitor in that year was Râwal Samarasiṁha. After Samarasiṁha came Ratnasiṁha for one year. In S. 1360 (A.D. 1303) 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî took Chitor from Râwal Ratnasiṁha, and handed it over to Prince Khiẓr Khâṅ, who held it for about nine years, from A.D. 1303 to 1312.[2] It was then given by 'Alâu'ddîn to the Sonagarâ chief Mâladeva, who held it for seven years.[3] Ferishta does not mention the name of Mâladeva, but simply says : "the King ordered Prince Khiẓr Khâṅ to evacuate it [Chitor] and to make it over to the nephew of the Râja."[4] It is possible that after the death of Mâladeva, Hammîra took the fort from the former's son, Jaîsâ (Jaitsî), while Delhi was ruled by Sultân Muḥammad Tughlaq, who ascended the throne in S. 1382 (A.D. 1325). Hence, it may be fairly asserted that Hammîra came to his throne of Chitor shortly after that date. Such an assertion is supported by a Persian inscription in Naksh characters, found in the fort at Chitor and described in the *Annual Report* of the Râjputânâ Museum, Ajmer, 1921-22, which praises the Tughlaq Shâh [Ghiyâsu'ddîn Tughlaq], who ruled from A.D. 1320 to 1325. It, consequently, belongs to that period, and from its text, it appears that Chitor was, directly or indirectly, under the rule of the Paṭhân rulers of Delhi till about S. 1382 (A.D. 1325).

Before he came to the throne of Mewâr, Mahârâṇâ Hammîra was Râṇâ of Sesodâ, and thus belonged to the Râṇâ (junior) branch of the Sesodâ family, the rulers of which were feudatories of the Râwal (senior) branch of Mewâr. In S. 1360 (A.D. 1303) his father Arisiṁha was killed in the disastrous battle of Chitor, fought between 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî and Râwal Ratnasiṁha of Chitor. His grandfather, Lakshmaṇasiṁha, was also killed in the same battle, together with seven of his sons.[5] Ajaisiṁha, the youngest son of Lakshmaṇasiṁha, was the only one who survived and returned home, safe though wounded, and succeeded his father as Râṇâ of Sesodâ.

After the death of his uncle, Ajaisiṁha, Hammîra became the Râṇâ of the Sesodâ estate, and aimed at conquering the fort of Chitor, his ancestral capital, and the surrounding country. He began by desolating the whole province of Mewâr. It is said that Mâladeva Chauhân, then ruler of Chitor, in the hope of creating friendly relations with him, married his daughter to him, ceding parts of Mewâr as dowry—Mewâr with Chitor having, since the time of 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî, been in the possession of the Chauhâns (Sonagarâs), who ruled as his tributary. But Hammîra was not satisfied and continued his efforts, which, at last, were crowned with success, and he made himself independent master of the throne of Chitor with the title of Mahârâṇâ. Since then, his descendants have ruled Mewâr to the present day.

Shortly after he became Mahârâṇâ, Chitor was attacked by Sultân Muḥammad Tughlaq of Delhi. Of this affair Tod, *Râjasthân*, Vol. I, pp. 318-19, writes as follows: "Maldeo himself carried the accounts of his loss to the Khiljî king[6] [Tughlaq]Maḥmûd [Muḥammad], who had succeeded 'Alâ ['Alâu'ddîn]. He [Hammîra] marched to meet Mahmud, who was

---

[1] ओं ॥ संवत् १३५८ वर्षे माघ शुदि १० दशम्यां .... महाराजाधिराज श्री समरसिंह [देवक] ल्याण विजयराज्ये ॥ *Râjputânâ Museum Report*, 1920–21.

[2] Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I., pp. 353, 380.

[3] *Muhnot Nansy*, pp. 44-45.

[4] Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 363.

[5] *Supplementary Notes to Tod's Râjasthân*, by R. B. Pandit Gourishankar H. Ojha, p. 324.

[6] Col. Tod is mistaken here. There was no king named Mahmud in the Khilji dynasty after 'Alâu'ddîn.

advancing to recover his lost possessions. The king had encamped at Singolî, where he was attacked, was defeated and made prisoner by Hammîra. The king suffered a confinement of three months in Chitor, nor was liberated till he had surrendered Ajmer, Ranthambhor, Nâgor and Sui Sopur, besides paying fifty lakhs of rupees and one hundred elephants."

This version of the tale is, however, doubtful. According to that reliable historian of Râjputânâ, Muhnot Nansy,[7] Mâladeva Chauhân lived for seven years after he was given Chitor by 'Alau'ddîn Khiljî, and there he died. 'Alau'ddîn Khiljî himself died in A.D. 1316 (s. 1373), and Muḥammad Tughlaq became Sultân of Delhi nine years afterwards, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1325 (s. 1382). So, it is most unlikely that Mâladeva was alive at the period of Col. Tod's story. It is probable, however, that Jaisâ, his eldest son, went to the Sultân Muḥammad Tughlaq for aid, and brought about an invasion of Chitor by the Sultan's army. Moreover, the imprisonment of the Sultan by Hammîra, besides its inherent impossibility, and the cession of Ajmer and the other towns above mentioned is not authenticated by contemporary historians. This fact throws further doubt on the accuracy of Tod's account, especially as the towns referred to are known to have been annexed by Mahârâṇâ Kumbhâ at a later period. However, from an inscription dated s. 1495 (A.D. 1438), of the time of Mahârâṇâ Kumbhâ (Kumbhakarṇa) in the temple of Mahâvîrasvâmi at Chitor, it appears that Hammîra established his fame by killing a large number of Muhammadans.[8] It is quite possible that these Muhammadans belonged to the army of Delhi, which was defeated by Mahârâṇâ Hammîra.

Regarding other exploits of Hammîra, we learn from another inscription,[9] dated s. 1485 (A.D. 1428) of the time of Mahârâṇâ Mokal at Śṛiṅgî Ṛishî, five miles from Ekliṅgajî in Mewâr, that Hammîra took by force a place called Chelâkhyapura (Jilwâṛâ), and put to flight his enemy in a battle and burnt a town called Pâlahaṇapura (Pâlanpur).[10]

It is also known from the same inscription that Hammîra killed his enemy Jaitreśvara (Râṇâ Jaitrâ) : and in the *Ekaliṅga Mâhâtya*,[11] it is recorded that the best of kings (Hammîra) conquered Jitakarṇa, the king of Ilâdurga or Idar.[12] By way of proof of the identity of these two names, it will be interesting to note a few passages, in which this place is differently named by different authors.

---

7 He flourished in the court of Mahârâja Jaswant Singh (1635—78 A.D.) of Jodhpur.

8 *Journal of the BBRAS.*, vol. XXIII, p. 50 :

वंशे तत्र पवित्रचित्रचरितस्तेजस्विनामग्रणीः
श्रीहम्मीरमहीपतिः स्म तपति क्ष्मापालवास्तोष्पतिः ||
तौरुष्काऽमितमुण्डमण्डलमिथः संघट्टवाचालिता
यस्याद्यापि वदन्ति कीर्तिमभितः संग्रामसीमाभुवः || १ ||

9 Unpublished inscription at Śriṅgî Rishi :

"चेलाख्यं पुरमग्रहीदरिगणान्भिल्लान्गुहागोहका—
न्भित्वा तानखिलान्निहत्य च बलात्ख्यातासिना संगरे
यो ग........व क समवधीज्जैत्रेश्वरं वैरिणं
यो दूरस्थितपाल्हणापुरमपि क्रोधाकुलो दग्धवान् || ४ ||

10 This village was founded by and named after Prahlâdanadeva, the younger brother of **Dhârâvarsha,** the Paramâra ruler of Âbu.

11 *Ekaliṅga Mâhâtya,* Râjavarṇan Adhyâya :

प्रल्हादनपुरं हत्वा तथेलादुर्गनायकं ।
जितवान् जितकर्णं यो ज्येष्ठं श्रेष्ठो महीभृतां || ८९ ||

Jitakarṇa was the son of Lûṇakarṇa and father of Rao Raṇamalla Râṭhôr of Idar.

12 It was an old practice among the writers of Sanskrit in Rajputâṇâ to substitute ' ल ' for ' र. ' and ड. Accordingly, the word ' इल ' is written for इड and Iladurga for the fort of Ida or Idar.

In Sanskrit books, the authors generally change the form of the popular names according to their own whims. Thus, the words ' हंमीर ' from अमीर, ' सुरत्राण ' from सुलतान, ' कच्छपघात' from कछवाहा are coined ; although there is no connection between the meanings of the two sets of words.

In an inscription,[13] dated s. 1545 (A.D. 1488), of the time of Mahârâṇâ Râyamalla, it is mentioned that Hammîra "dried the ocean-like [king] Jaitrakarṇa, sprung from the mountain [the earth] of Ilâ, whose moving forces spread like water which appeared active on account of the numerous horses, like so many alligators in it, with large elephants, like numerous mountains, and having a necklace of jewels of the many brave men." In the above inscription, while Raṇamalla, the king of Idar, is described as having been imprisoned by Mahârâṇâ Kshetrasiṁha (Khetâ) of Mewâr, the term Ailaprâkâra is used for the fort of Idar.[14]

Many Jain writers have also given the name of Idar in different ways. Thus, in his work, entitled *Somasaubhâgya Kâvyam*, Pandit Pratishṭhâsoma, while describing the restoration of a Jain temple called Kumârapâlavihâra, and giving accounts of kings Raṇamalla and Pûñjâ of that place, has written Iladurganagara for Idar.[15] In the *Vijayapraśasti Kâvya* of Hemavijaya, Ilâdurgapuri is written for Idar.[16] In the colophon at the end of a manuscript, dated A.D. 1479, and quoted in a book[17] by Lakshmana Swarup the word 'Aliprâkâra [? for Ilâprâkâra] is written for Idar.[18]

Returning to the main theme, Mahârâṇâ Hammîra was a great ruler; and Mahârâṇâ Kumbhâ says, in his commentary known as *Rasikapriyâ* on the *Gîtagovinda*, that Hammîra was called *vishamadhâḍî panchânana*, a lion in vigorous attack.[19] Indeed, the star of prosperity shone brightly over Mewâr during his reign. For, it was Hammîra who redeemed his country from the ruin and insignificance, to which it had dwindled since the time of Râwal Ratnasiṁha, and it enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity for about two centuries after him. The power of Mewâr was so consolidated by him that not only were hostile armies repelled, but war was carried abroad, leaving tokens of victory far and wide. Col. Tod writes: "Hammîra was the sole Hindu prince of power now [14th century A.D.] left in India. All the ancient dynasties were crushed, and the ancestors of the present princes of Mârwâr and Jaypur brought their levies, paid homage, and obeyed the summons of the prince of Chitor, as did the chiefs of Bûndî, Gwalior, Chanderî, Râesin, Sikrî, Kâlpî, Abu, etc."[20]

Although Colonel Tod and other historians, by the aid of the feeble light of forgotten chronicles and imperfect records, have made a few exaggerations in the story of Mahârâṇâ Hammîra, yet there is no denying the fact that he was a great and illustrious ruler.

Hammîra died in s. 1421 (A.D. 1364). This is the date given in the chronicles. Col. Tod and others have accepted it, and though there is no means of verifying its correctness, it may be taken as correct from the fact that, in the chronicles, the dates of accession and death of kings after s. 1400 have mostly been found, where capable of verification, to be correct.

---

13 *Bhâvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 119:
चलद्दलवलज्जलं तुरगनक्रचक्राकुलं महागजगिरिव्रजं प्रचुरवीररत्नस्रजं ॥
इलाचलसमुद्भवं समितिजैत्रकर्णार्णवं शुशोष मुनिपुंगवः किल हमीरभूमीधवः ॥२५॥

14 *Ibid.*, p. 119:
प्राकारमैलमभिभूय विधूय वीरानाराय कोशमखिलं खलु खेतसिंहः ॥
कारांधकारमनयद्रणमल्लभूपमेतन्महीमकृत तत्सुतसात्प्रसह्य ॥ ३० ॥

15 पृथ्वीतलप्रथितनामगुणाभिरामं विश्रामधाम कमलं कमलायताक्ष्याः ।
अस्तीलदुर्गनगर............सर्ग ७

16 आसीदिलादुर्गपुरी वरीयसी भोगावतीवातुलभोगिभासुरा ॥ १०।४९ ॥

17 *The Nighantu and the Nirukta, Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 1920.

18 श्री अलिप्राकारे महाराजाधिराजश्रीभाणविजयराज्ये
आभ्यंतरनागरज्ञातीय......महायाज्ञीकश्रीश्रीशंकरसुतः
.............पतिांवरेण etc..............pp. 34, 35.

19 *Gîtagovinda Kâvyam*, p. 2:
पञ्चाननो विषमधाडिषु यः प्रसिद्ध—
श्चक्रे मृधान्यखिलशत्रुभयावहानि ॥ ८ ॥

20 *Râjasthân*, vol. I, pp. 319-20. It has, however, never been ascertained whether any other kings than the rulers of Idar and Bûndî outside Mewâr really came under the hand of Mewâr.

THE SEQUEL TO HIR AND RANJHA.

TOLD BY A PEASANT-PROPRIETOR OF JHANG, TO MR. H. A. ROSE, I.C.S., IN 1884-5.

Prefatory Remarks.

SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

THE idea of the Zindâ Pîr, the everliving Holy Personage, originally attached to the almost universal Al Khiḍr, Khiẓr Khâṅ, is common in Northern India and has become part of the Legend of almost every prominent Saint or Holy Man. It has been attached to the memory of the celebrated Panjâbî lovers, Hîr and Rânjhâ, who in life were counterparts of the Romeo and Giulietta of mediæval Italy. They have long been looked on in the Panjâb and Balûchistân as saints who are still alive. This story refers to that phase of the legends about them, and comes from their own home, the Jhang district of the Panjâb.

In 1884 I published in the *Legends of the Panjâb* (Vol. II, pp. 177-181) a Baloch version of this tale under the title of *The Legend of 'Abdu'llah Shâh of Samîn* from the Dera Ghâzî Khâṅ district across the Indies, which, though taken down by the late Mr. M. Longworth Dames, was also heard there by Mr. H. A. Rose. I also published in the same work (Vol. II, pp. 494 ff.) the story of *Isma'îl Khâṅ's Grandmother*, and (Vol. II, pp. 499 ff.) *The Bracelet-maker of Jhang*. The first of these two relates practically the same story as that now given, and the latter was originally concocted to glorify the tomb of Hîr at Jhang.

The best known rescension of the story of Hîr and Rânjhâ is the well-known version of Waris Shâh, a translation of which by the late G. S. Usborne was published in this *Journal* in 1921 as a Supplement. Also in the *Legends of the Panjâb* (Vol. II, pp. 507 ff.) there is a version of the *Marriage of Hir and Ranjha*, and in this *Journal* (Vol. LIV, pp. 176 ff.) there is yet another popular version of the general tale. The present story will be given first in translation and then in its original text as taken down from the narrator. The Baloch version differs from it only in those matters which arise out of the circumstances and environment of the two peoples among whom the story has become current.

This version, as told by the narrator, gives its date from internal evidence. In the first place, though Mr. Rose has omitted to record the narrator's name, he has told us that he heard the tale in Jhang in 1884-5. His informer's story is that "a Hâjî came to his great-grandfather Hâfiz Aḥmad, about 40 or 45 years ago (in 1884-5)," when he himself "was about 14 or 15 years of age." So the story is thus dated roughly in 1840-45. Further investigation will be found to date it in 1848. We also thus learn that the narrator was born in 1833-34, and that when he told the tale in 1884-85 he must have been about 50 years old.

The interesting point here is that the narrator relates an obviously impossible folk-tale as his own experience in his youth, told to his great-grandfather, and also to the family of the Chief (Raîs) of his tribe, a known historical personage of such recent date as to have been born in 1817 and to be still alive when the story was taken down 68 years afterwards. There is, however, nothing unusual in this in India, for folk-tales of this kind are occasionally repeated as personal experiences. One such, among many others, was told to myself of Sir Henry Lawrence at Ferozepore in 1879, and another of myself personally at Ambala in 1882. Many other instances could be quoted.

In the next place, the story, at the end of it, has the following statement:—"By the grace of God, in the days of disturbance [the last Sikh War, 1845-49, and towards the end of it, 1848] the Khâṅ Ṣâḥib Muḥammad Isma'îl Khâṅ [Raîs or Chief of Jhang Siâl] received a *parwâna* from Telar Ṣâhib [General Reynell Taylor] to enlist men and hold possession of the country of Jhang Siâl, and the Khâṅ Ṣâḥib assembled and trained all his *zamîndârs* [land-owners] and fought the Sikhs, the enemies of the English. So the country remained as of old under the rule of the Siâls, and its administration was entrusted to him." These statements settle the date of the story, as they say that it was told as having happened to a

Ḥâjî (pilgrim to Mecca), who told it to the narrator's great-grandfather, Ḥâfiz Aḥmad. He was then himself 14 or 15 years of age, and he, Ḥâfiz Aḥmad and the Ḥâjî all went to see Muḥammad Isma'îl Khâṅ, the Chief of Jhang Siâl, and met his mother, who afterwards became a worshipper at Hîr's tomb outside Jhang.

Attached to the story of *Isma'il's Grandmother* is an introductory note by myself relating that "the family of the Siâl Chiefs of Jhang is an old and illustrious one, but it first comes into prominence with the 13th Chief Walîdâd Khâṅ, who consolidated its fortunes. He died in 1747 A.D. and was succeeded by his nephew 'Inâyatu'llah Khâṅ, a man as able as himself, but overshadowed by the then rising Sikh power. He died in 1787 and was succeeded successively by his two sons, Sultân Maḥmûd Khâṅ and Sâḥib Khâṅ. They both came to an untimely end before 1790, when their relative, Kabîr Khâṅ, who had married the widow of Sâḥib Khâṅ, and daughter of 'Umar Khâṅ Siâl, succeeded. He came of the line of Jahân Khâṅ, whose children had been ousted by Ghâzî Khâṅ, grandfather of Walîdâd Khâṅ, in the 17th century. This Chief was a man of mild character, and in 1801 abdicated in favour of his son Aḥmad Khâṅ, who was succeeded successively by his sons 'Inâyat Khâṅ in 1820 and the present [1884] Muḥammad Isma'îl Khâṅ in 1838. After the days of 'Inâyatu'llah Khâṅ the fortunes of the family sank to a very low point, from which they were partially recovered by the loyalty of Muḥammad Isma'îl Khâṅ to the British Crown."

To this information may be added some statements from Griffin's *Punjab Chiefs* (Vol. II, pp. 77 f.) :—"In 1838 Inâyat Khâṅ was killed near Rasûlpur, fighting on the side of Dîwân Sâwan Mal against Râjâ Gulâb Singh [of Jammû]. His brother [Muḥammad] Isma'îl Khâṅ went to Lahore to endeavour to obtain the confirmation of the *jâgîr* in his favour, but the Mahârâjâ was paralytic, and Gulâb Singh, his enemy, in the ascendant, and he only obtained a pension of Rs. 100 a month. He remained at Lahore four years till his pension was discontinued, and he then returned to Jhang, where he lived upon an allowance of Rs. 41 a month granted to the family by Sâwan Mal. This was raised in 1848 to Rs. 60.

"In October 1848, Major H. [Sir Herbert] Edwardes wrote to [Muḥammad] 'Isma'îl Khâṅ directing him to raise troops in behalf of Government and to collect the revenue of the district. The poor Chief, hoping the time was come when loyalty might retrieve his fortunes, raised a force, and descending the river, attacked and defeated a rebel Chief, 'Âtâ Muḥammad, at Nîkokâra. Afterwards, when Sardâr Sher Singh Atârîwâlâ had passed through Jhang, and had left Deorâj in command of one thousand men there, 'Isma'îl Khâṅ attacked this detachment several times with varying results. His Jamadâr [Commander] Pîr Kamâl, of 'Isâ Shâh, captured at the fort of Târukâ another rebel Chief named Kâhan Dâs. Thus 'Isma'îl Khâṅ, the representative of a long and illustrious line of Chiefs, stood out bravely on the side of the Government. His influence was great in the district and was all used against the rebels. His services were especially valuable at a time when it was inexpedient to detach a force against the petty rebel leaders. After annexation 'Isma'îl Khâṅ was made Risâldâr of the Jhang Mounted Police ; but his services were, through inadvertance, overlooked, and it was not till 1856 that he received a pension of Rs. 600 for life. Three wells were also released to him and his male heirs in perpetuity.

"In 1857 the services of the Chief were conspicuous. He aided in raising a force of cavalry, and served in person against the insurgents. For his loyalty, he received a *khil'at* of Rs. 500 and the title of Khâṅ Bahâdûr ; and his yearly grant of Rs. 600 was raised to Rs. 900, with the addition of a *jâgîr* of Rs. 950 for life. In 1860 his pension was, at his own desire, exchanged for a life *jâgîr*.

"In 1879 [Muḥammad] 'Isma'îl Khâṅ's case again came under the consideration of Government. Having regard to the position and influence of the Siâl family, and to the steadfast loyalty and good conduct of its Chief, Sir Robert Egerton [Lieut.-Governor of the

Panjâb] recommended that the life *jâgîr* be raised to Rs. 2,000 and continued to a selected heir during the pleasure of Government. The *jâgîr* allowance was duly increased ; but with regard to the second proposition, the Supreme Government deemed it advisable merely to lay down that it should receive consideration on the death of the present incumbent."

To these facts it may be added that Muḥammad 'Isma'îl Khân was the owner of four thousand acres in seventeen villages of the Jhang and Shorkot *taḥsîls*, and enjoyed eventually an income of about Rs. 10,000 *per annum*. He was held in the highest esteem by the many English district officers who knew him. It is clear from the above narrative that the date of the legend is 1848.

General Reynell George Taylor is mentioned in the story more than once, and his life roughly supports the dates evolved from the story itself. He lived from 1822 to 1886, and in 1848 he was at the siege of Multân, being then a Captain. He later on commanded the Corps of Guides on the Panjâb Frontier, and was in charge of Kângṛâ during the Mutiny.

During its course, this story also relates that the Ḥâjî first met the mother of Muḥammad 'Isma'îl Khân and related the tale to her, with the result that she became a regular worshipper at Hîr's tomb near Jhang. In the tale of *Isma'îl's Grandmother* her place is taken by his grandmother, according to the Panjâbî bards from whom I heard it. But they said that Ḥâkim Jân Muḥammad, the original narrator thereof, who was still alive in 1884, averred that it was the mother, and not the grandmother, who took to looking after Hîr's tomb, though it was against the traditions of her tribe to do so. He also said that she began to do this shortly before the commencement of the British rule in the Panjâb (1849). Like the teller of this tale, he also said that he was then 18 years of age. It is clear, therefore, that the two tales are versions of one original. From all the above information one gathers that, if the lady was 'Isma'îl Khân's grandmother she was the wife of Kabir Khân and daughter of 'Umar Khân, but if she was his mother she was the wife of Aḥmad Khân.

From the *Bracelet-maker of Jhang* no further information is to be extracted, but as the tale of *'Abdu'llah Shâh of Samîn* is so closely connected with this one and is not long, I reprint here the translation, together with these introductory notes, after the text of this tale, so that students may compare the two stories for themselves. It is quite possible, indeed, that 'Abdu'llah Shâh represents the Ḥâjî of the present legend.

True Lovers Never Die.

I remember that when I was about 14 or 15 years old that a traveller, aged about 40 or 45 years, said to be a Ḥâjî, came to my great-grandfather, Ḥâfiz Aḥmâd (God have mercy on him), and told him this tale :—

I am a [Siâl and a] native of the country round Chachh-Hazârâ,[1] and left my home to make the pilgrimage to the House of the Ka'aba [at Mecca]. Travelling, travelling, travelling, I embarked on a ship. By the will of God the ship went to pieces at some place by the ocean. By the will of God also I was saved on a plank. It was I don't remember how many days afterwards that I reached the shore at some spot.

I was hungry, thirsty and weary, and there was no strength left in me to move or travel, and life meant nothing to me. I ate the leaves and berries of trees, and when I had thus recovered some strength, I climbed the highest hills and trees around to look for signs of habitation. When I had been looking for some time, I saw at last some tracks of buffalo cows and I knew them to be signs of habitation.[2]

---

[1] That is : Takht-Hazâra in the Gujrânwâlâ District.

[2] This shows that the narrator could not really have ever left the Panjâb, and thus the whole story must have been only a dream.

Then I bethought me that in a jungle where there are female buffaloes, there I shall meet with kindness. I followed their tracks and arrived at a place where milk had been set to curdle. And all around were thick shady wild trees of which I did not know the names, and had never seen before, all growing in that place. In the midst of them was a tall tamarisk tree, the wood of which was old and hollow like a drum. Into this tree I got in fear, as I had heard people say that in that place there were demons who used to seize and eat men. So hiding myself I sat there in terror.

Then as the time came for the sun to set I heard the sound of a pipe and saw a man wearing a black waist cloth and playing on a pipe. He came out of the jungle, and behind him came the buffaloes. When I saw this, I said to myself: "God knows who this is or what the miracle is."

Coming to the place the man sat down and the buffaloes all sat down around him. After a little while came a woman, wearing fine light-coloured[3] raiment, and a line painted on her forehead. And on her head was some bread fresh baked, and she sat down beside him. They embraced, and she took some bread and gave it to him. When he began to eat the bread the woman said to him: "Mîân Rânjhâ, a traveller from your country has come to stay with us. Let him eat first and eat yourself afterwards." "Where is he ?" said he.

Said mother Hir: "Shout and he will come."

Mîâñ Rânjhâ called out: "Come, traveller, come. Don't hide."

Then I guessed, as in my country in Chach [Takht] Hazâra they talk of Hîr and Rânjhâ and sing songs of their love, that perhaps these persons were they. So glad at heart I went towards them. They asked me for my news and I told it them. They were pleased and gave me bread and milk, which I ate and drank, and they made me rest awhile.

Afterwards they said: "Will you remain here ? or must you go on elsewhere ?"

I replied: "I left my home to make a pilgrimage to the House of the Ka'aba: but now as I don't know the road and have no money left, how can I go anywhere ?"

They laughed and said: "We too, have to make a pilgrimage to the House of the Ka'aba. If you wish it, we will take you with us and show you the way."

I agreed and was rejoiced and asked them: "How far is the House of the Ka'aba from here ?"

They said: "It is a journey of 300 *kos* from here."

Then I said: "If it is so far from here, how shall I get there ?"

To this they replied: "Don't be anxious, Sir."

And by God's will I remained silent.

When the month of the pilgrimage arrived, I said to them: "you told me that the House of the Ka'aba is distant 300 *kos*, when shall we start ?"

Said they: "Why are you anxious ? We, too, have to go."

When the actual day of the pilgrimage had come, they said: "Will you come back with us or will you remain there ?"

I said: "I will come back with you."

Then they said: "When all your orders for the pilgrimage have been carried out, meet us on a certain hill, and we will bring you back here with us."

And again they said: "Hold our hands and shut your eyes." I held their hands and closed my eyes. After a little while they said: "Open your eyes."

When I had opened my eyes, I saw thousands of men standing, telling their beads and reciting God's name."

3 *Sâwâ, lit.*, green.

I asked some of them : " What is happening ? What place is this ? "

They replied : " These men are all Musalmâns and this is the place of pilgrimage. You have obeyed your orders and performed the pilgrimage."

At that time the reason of the assembly and crowd of men was hidden from me. There I remained two days and met men from my own country, who had gone on pilgrimage a year before me, and we gave each other the news.

In my heart I knew that my friends were Hîr and Rânjhâ and saints of God, and I determined to find them and spend the remainder of my life in their service. I sought the defile in the hills that they had described to me, and saw them both sitting there. I rejoiced and thanked God (the glorious and exalted). They recognised me and called to me, saying: " Are you now free ? "

I replied : " I am now without care."

Then they caught me by the hands and said as before : " Shut your eyes."

After a little while I opened my eyes, and found myself in the same place as before. Thus I passed five or six months pleasantly in their service, sometimes eating bread and sometimes rice and milk.

One day thoughts of my home and children came into my mind and that it was impossible for me to remain on. Involuntarily I began to weep.

They asked me : " Why do you weep ? "

At first I was ashamed, but when they asked me again and again, then I said : " I have remembered my home, my children, my friends and my cronies and I have to weep."

Then said they, one to the other : " Every one loves his country, and if you ask us seriously we will take you there."

And I replied : " If you will take me, you will fulfil my desire."

Then said Mother Hîr : " We will take you to Jhang Siâl, and there you must take my message of love in my own words to the Chief of that place, and say ' Mother Hîr and Miâ Rânjhâ are living and not dead. You must not act against their rights, as they are not wicked. Miâñ Rânjhâ grazes buffaloes, as of old, and Mother Hîr lives with him. May distress and poverty and misery come upon you unless you go to my shrine and there pray to the Lord, the Merciful and Compassionate. God will accept your prayers and bestow on you joy, ease and wealth."

Then I said : " Should I arrive at the City of Jhang Siâl alive, please God Almighty, I will most certainly tell them and the Chief of Jhang Siâl, the whole story."

Then Mother Hîr and Miâñ Rânjhâ caught my hands and said : " Shut your eyes."

I closed my eyes and after a little while, they said : " Open your eyes."

Then I opened my eyes and saw that I was under a *jaṇḍ* tree to the west of Mâî Hîr's tomb. A short while I sat there and set out for Mâî Hîr's shrine, and asked the custodians: " Whose tomb is this ? "

They answered : "it is the tomb of Mother Hîr, the Siâl."

I stayed three or four days in the mosque there, and by asking I learnt your name [4] and that you are a man of great age, a scholar and protector of the Holy Qurân and of the old Laws, a chief of the Siâls of this place. I have a message entrusted to me by Mother Hîr in her own words to deliver to the Chief of the Siâls of Jhang. So if you will take me with you, I will repeat the message Mother Hîr gave me in her own words.

---

[4] That is, of Ḥâfiz Aḥmad, the great-grandfather of the narrator.

At that time the Mother of the Khân Ṣâḥib Muḥammad 'Isma'il Khân Bahâdur, Chief of Jhang, was alive. My great grandfather Ḥâfiz Aḥmad (God's mercy be upon him) and I (being at that time fourteen or fifteen years of age) went to the Khân Ṣâḥib's house with the Ḥâjî, who sat outside his Mother's *pardah* and told her all the story that has been above narrated in his own language. The Khân Ṣâḥîb's Mother kept him there two days and gave him some money for his journey. The Ḥâjî then went away. I recollect that the Mâî Ṣâḥiba went every Thursday all her days to the shrine known as Mâî Hîr's Tomb.[5]

By the grace of God in those days of disturbance the Khân Ṣâḥib Muḥammad Khân received a *parwâna* from Telar Ṣâḥib [General Reynell Taylor] to enlist men and hold possession of the country of Jhang Syâl, and the Khân Ṣâḥib assembled and trained all his land-owners [zamîndârs] and fought the Sikhs, the enemies of the English. So the country remained as of old under the rule of the Siâls, and its administration was entrusted to him, as our ancestors have said :—

Of old by the Mercy of God

It is our right and our truth. The End.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A VEDANTIC REFERENCE TO CHERAMAN PERUMAL.

With reference to the Article by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LIV, pp. 7 ff., may I draw attention to a possible allusion to Chêramân Perumâl in an old Vedantic work in Sanskrit—the *Saikṣepa-Śârîraka*. The author of this work, as is well known, was Sarvajñâtman, the pupil's pupil of Śaṅkara, and he may be taken to have been a native of Kerala, as he refers to the god Padmanâbha of Trivandrum in concluding his work (iv, 61)[1]. He also refers to the king who was ruling at the time in these words—

Cakre sajjana - buddhi - Maṇḍanamidam - râjanya Vanisye nṛpe.
Śrîmatyakṣalâ - śâsane manukulâditya bhuvam śâsati || (iv, 62.)

This passage has more than once been discussed by scholars, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar being, so far as I know, the first to direct attention to it.[2] He understands it to refer to a Câlukya king, taking *manukulâditye* as the chief word and construing the other locatives as adjectival to it. There are two notes on the passage in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912 (p. 200) and 1914 (p. 238) and their writers also construe it in the same way. There may be much to support this interpretation; but it is against the meaning given in the Commentary—*Anvayârtha-prakâśikâ*, the only one of the three published commentaries on the work which explains the passage.[3] It takes *Śrîmati* as the head-word or *Viśeṣya* (*Śrîmannâmni*), which makes *Śrîmân*, the corresponding nominative singular, the name of the king in question. This word, however, is ordinarily prefixed as an honorific epithet to names and it is very unusual to find it used as a proper noun in Sanskrit. May it therefore be the Sanskritised form of 'Cheraman'? Such transformations of proper names are not unknown even in the West.[4] If this conjecture is right, a king by name Cheraman, who, to judge from the epithet *akṣalâ-śâsane*, was very powerful,—would be a contemporary of Ṣarva-jñâtman and would belong to the early part of the ninth century A.D., for Śaṅkara, the *guru's guru* of the latter, flourished, as is now commonly believed, from 788 to 820 A.D.

M. HIRIYANNA.

5 The story ends here, but the MS. goes on.
1 See Commentary printed in the Ânandâśrama Edn. of the work.
2 See *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 58 (Edn. of 1884).
3 See Ânandâśrama Edn.
4 *Cf., e.g., Moksa-Mûlara* used for 'Max Muller'.

BOOK-NOTICES.

CATALOGUE OF THE BENGALI AND ASSAMESE MANUSCRIPTS AND CATALOGUE OF THE ORIYA MANUSCRIPTS, in the Library of the India Office; by the late JAMES F. BLUMHARDT, M.A. Published by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Oxford University Press, 1924.

Of these two volumes, which contain respectively 20 and 22 pages, the Catalogue of Bengali MSS. is the first of a series relating to the Aryan vernacular languages of India. According to a note by Dr. F. W. Thomas, the Librarian, the Bengali MSS. originally belonged for the most part to Henry T. Colebrooke, Richard Johnson, banker and friend of Warren Hastings, John Leyden, Sir Charles Wilkins, and Horace Hayman Wilson. The source whence the Oriya MSS. were obtained is unknown; but possibly they were purchased from the representatives of John Leyden about the year 1824.

The Bengali and Assamese MSS. are not of first-rate importance, the chief of them being three books of Kâśirâma's version of the *Mahâbhârata*, a copy of Mukundarâma's *Chaṇḍi*, and three copies of the *Vidyâ-Sundara* of Bhâratachandra. The Oriya MSS. which belong to the nineteenth century, include copies of Skandhas of Jagannâtha Dâsa's *Bhagavata-Purâṇa*, one Parvan of Sârala Dâsa's *Mahâbhârata*, the *Padma Purâṇa* of Nilambara Dâsa, and several Vaishnava poems. The system of cataloguing followed by the late Professor Blumhardt gives in succinct form all the information necessary for the identification of any MS., including the opening and closing verses and, wherever possible, a brief notice of the author. The printing of the Catalogues, which are priced at *7s. 6d.* each, does not fall short of the usual high standard of the Oxford University Press.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE PANCHATANTRA RECONSTRUCTED. Text, Critical Apparatus, Introduction, Translation, by FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania. Vol. I, Text and Critical Apparatus; Vol. II, Introduction and Translation. American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A. 1924.

This work is described by the author as an attempt to establish the lost original Sanskrit Text of the most famous of Indian Story-collections on the basis of the principal extant versions, and represents the fruits of ten years' continuous study. No one who reads Professor Edgerton's pages, particularly the second volume, can fail to appreciate the immense care and proficiency which he has brought to bear upon his task; and the magnitude of the work becomes more apparent, when one remembers that more than two hundred different versions of the *Panchatantra* are known to exist in more than fifty languages. All these versions are traceable backwards to a book of fables in five sections, which was supposed to be a sort of *Fürstenspiegel* or *Mirror for Magistrates*, teaching worldly wisdom to princes by examples and precepts. "Most of the stories remain true to the key-note of the book, its Machiavellian character; they are generally unmoral, and at times positively immoral in the political lessons they inculcate." In this respect they approximate in type to the earlier *Arthaśâstra*, attributed to Kautilya, which teaches that any villainy and immorality is permissible, provided that it is performed in the service or for the benefit of the State.

No genuine primitive text of the *Panchatantra* is in existence, nor is there any text which can be regarded as a reasonably close approximation to the original. But Professor Edgerton's prolonged analytical examination of all the existing versions or recensions enables him to state that similarities or correspondences of sentences or verses are sufficiently numerous to justify the belief that all these versions do in truth originate from a single literary archetype, and that the original *Panchatantra* must have been, artistically, a far finer work than any of its descendants. The author claims for his reconstruction of the Sanskrit original that (*a*) every story in it can be attributed with virtual certainty to the original, and that the original contained no other tales than those which he has included, (*b*) every stanza contained in his reconstruction, except a few which he has marked, occurred in the original, and (*c*) in the prose passages, every sentence of his reconstruction represents at least the general sense of a corresponding sentence in the original. As regards the date and home of the original work, the author gives the guarded opinion that it was earlier than the sixth century A.D., in which the Pahlavi translation was made, but later than the beginning of the Christian era; while such little evidence as exists on the second point tends to indicate that the original home of the *Panchatantra* must be sought in southern, perhaps south-western, India.

I will leave other readers to study for themselves the chapters dealing with the various versions, the methods employed in the reconstruction, and the various points on which the author differs from the views already expressed by Professor J. Hertel. The two volumes together form a solid contribution to Oriental scholarship, and the only criticism which an English reader may feel disposed to make will be in the form of a mild protest against the American method of spelling certain English words. One has a certain natural prejudice against such words as "thru" and "thruout" for "through" and "throughout," "lookt" for "looked," "huskt" for "husked" (grain), and "notist" for "noticed."

S. M. EDWARDES.

NOTES ON THE REGALIA KEPT AT THE TOSHAKHANA OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

BY RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.

THE following Regalia are kept always ready by the Government of India in the Toshâkhâna of the Foreign Office for use on occasion at Darbârs; (1) umbrella, (2) peacock-feather fan, (3) *chaurî,* (4) elephant-headed club, (5) mace, (6) gold carpet, (7) state chair, (8) spear, (9) *atar-dân,* (10) *pân-dân.* They have been adopted by the Government out of a wide choice, and I now propose to deal with these articles and their like.

1. Umbrellas.

The umbrella is a very important State appurtenance, especially in Burma. The king of Burma was "Lord of the White Umbrella" and "Lord of all the Umbrella-bearing Chiefs," and up to the annexation of his kingdom by the British Crown (1886) there was a very formidable etiquette in regard to the use of umbrellas. None but the king himself, "the Lord of the White Elephant", might have a white one, and he had eight of them about him, all seven feet and more across and elevated on twelve-foot poles.[1] Englishmen in his country, who unwarily expanded sun-shades with white covers, expiated the heinousness of their offence by having to go abroad with nothing to shelter them from the avenging rays of the sun, kindled no doubt to unwonted heat by bad language.

At that period next in estimation were the yellow umbrellas, seldom conferred on any except queens and princesses when in special favour. Gold umbrellas were conferred on princes of the blood royal, eminent statesmen, generals, tributary chieftains and distinguished provincial governors. After these came in gradation red,[2] green. and brown silk umbrellas, with or without deep fringes, and all of the most portentous width.

Officials attached to the Court were allowed to signalise the distinction of their office by varnishing the umbrellas black inside. The most distinguished could carry them as far as the Palace steps, but there they had to be left. Others and the commonalty could not use a sunshade even near the Palace stockade and certainly not as they passed a Palace gate.[3]

In India part of the title of H. H. the Mahârâja of Kolhapur is Chhatrapati, "Lord of the Umbrella," which was highly valued by the Marâthâs, as they hold that it belongs only to the descendants of Śivajî. In Badger's *Varthema* (p. 150) it is said that the standard of the king of Calicut was an umbrella. A white umbrella was held over the king of Ceylon at his coronation[4]. In India again the *abgâdir* is a circular flat sunshade, in silk or gold cloth, carried in Hindu processions and is held in high repute as a sign of dignity or veneration. Among the Chândrasenî Prabhus of Bombay and the Deccan, if an *abgâdir* is not sent to a bridegroom's mother with every ceremonial invitation during her son's marriage, it is considered a great insult.

In Chambers, *Book of Days*, p. 241, it is said that the Assyrian umbrella was fringed with tassels and its top adorned with flowers with a long streamer of silk on either side. In China (Gray, *China*, vol. I, p. 375) the umbrella was a token of rank, and state umbrellas of the first and second order were adorned with a guardian figure. Yule (*Cathay*, p. 81) tells us that gilt umbrellas formed part of the show of Roman Catholic dignitaries.

In Africa, (Burton, *Visit to the King of Dahomey*, vol. I, pp. 43 and 315) umbrellas were used only by men of rank. The king of Dahomey was accompanied by four white umbrellas, besides parasols waved like fans. In Europe, Pope Alexander III allowed the Doge of Venice to have an umbrella carried before him[5].

---

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 443,444.

[2] The kings of Aracan called themselves "Lords of the White and of the Red Umbrellas."

[3] Sir James Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer.*

[4] Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*, p. 442.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

2. Morchel, Peacock Feather Fan.

The *morchel* is a sign of Royalty, and a pair of them should be held on each side of a King or Prince of the Royal Blood. Kṛshṇa, the eighth incarnation of Vishṇu, wore a peacock feather in his crown, as a sign of Divine Power. Mayurdvaj, *lit.*, one with a peacock on his flag, was a royal title of the ancient Maurya Dynasty.

Dennis, *Cities of Etruria*, says that the eye of the feather gave it special virtue against the Evil Eye, and among the Romans the peacock's feather was sacred to Juno. In India the Peacock was the vehicle of both Sarasvatî, the Goddess of Knowledge, and Kârttikeya, the general of the Gods, the son of Śiva. The Peacock Throne of Delhi was an emblem of imperial power and the White Peacock was a sign of Royalty in Burma.

But in England the situation is reversed, as I found to my personal cost in 1887. When my grandfather was in England, his landlady was very kind to him ; and so, as a mark of my esteem, I sent her a few small presents and crowned them all with peacock fans from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, at which I was then working. To my regret I heard that I could not have committed a more serious blunder, as peacock's feathers are considered most unlucky in England, and the poor old lady, then 80 years of age, was anything but gratified. The guardian peacock-eye of India and Rome had lost its virtue.[6]

3. Flags and Pennons.

These are symbols of power and veneration. A flag of gold cloth was specially granted to distinguish Generals in the Marâtha Army as Sardârs. *Jari patkyâche nishân Tâtyâ Hari-pantâlâ Sardârî* (from a ballad) : Tâtyâ Haripant Phadke was honoured with a golden flag as a badge of Sardârship.

4. Glass Mirrors.

As glass scares evil spirits, an elephant's *zul* in a Râjâ's procession is sure to have bits of glass mirrors somewhere about it to protect him. So is a *phulkârî* studded with bits of silvered glass to protect the wearer or house. In China doors have round looking-glasses in carved frames[7], and in Japan the mirror is a great article of worship[8].

5. Shing ; a Horn.

The horn for blowing was a symbol of Royalty or power, and it had the advantage also of scaring evil spirits. For the last reason it is blown at the appropriate moment at Hindu marriages.

As a symbol of Royalty or power it was worn by Persians on a tiara and also by the Assyrians.[9] A small horn, called a *corniculum*, was worn on a Roman helmet as a mark of honour,[10] and the Roman horn of plenty is still a Freemason's symbol[11].

6. The Lion-Faced Club.

The *Sinha-mukha* or *Kîrti-mukh* at the end of a club is a sign of Royalty combined with justice. *Sinhâsan* on the same principle means a Royal throne in India.

---

6 [The situation, however, confirms an old observation of mine : you have only to search far enough and wide enough to find the reverse of every superstition somewhere in the world. *E.g.*, in some parts of England it used to be unlucky to put a pin into the dress in which a bride was married ; everything had to be sewn up. In other parts it was unlucky to sew up the dress ; everything had to be pinned up. In either case, no doubt, the reasoning was sound, but the premises differed.—R.C.T.]

7 Gray's *China*, Vol. II, p. 44. [In Burma bits of looking glass were very largely used in buildings. One throne room in the Palace at Mandalay, much favoured by the King, was entirely covered with them.—R.C.T.]

8 Reed's *Japan*, Vol. I, p. 50.

9 Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*, p. 4.

10 Smith, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 513.

11 Mackay, *Freemasonry*, p. 15.

7. The Gold Mace.

Gold is a scarer of spirits, and according to Manu, a Hindu male infant should be fed with honey and butter from a golden spoon before the navel-chord is cut.[12] So also a seven-branched golden candlestick in Moses' Tabernacle,[13] and golden lamps hang in Christian Churches.[14]

So also the gold mace, *kanakdand*, is a symbol of authority and honour. The hereditary Padnîs of Dewâs in Central India holds *Kanakdande* as a title of honour among the Chândrasenî Prabhus. It was only kings and royal princes that could have with them *chobdârs* (heralds) carrying gold sticks, and Sardârs (nobles) were restricted to silver sticks.

8. The Sankh or Conch-Shell.

Evil spirits are terribly afraid of the Conch-shell (*Buccinum undulatum*), which is held to be the brother of Lakshmî, the Goddess of Wealth. At Junâgaḍ in Kâthiâwâr armlets of Conch-shell were worn as armlets,[15] and the figure of a *Sankh* is often drawn on the temples of an elephant harnessed for a procession to protect the princely rider from evil spirits. Usually it is blown as a welcome, but in China its blast is used as a signal to indicate the opening of a military review.[16]

The *Dâvâ-sankh* has the convolutions reversed, that is from right to left, and is considered very lucky in India, and is thus presented to royal guests as a loyal gift.

9. Bells.

Bells are a protection from evil spirits, as they fear them. So elephants' *zuls* have often small bells attached to them. Bells are, however, often also used as a welcome to the gods and so are hung in temples[17]. The Mâdhava Brâhman women of Dhârwâr wear small golden bells. In Ceylon a bell is rung on Adam's Peak as a security against spirits[18].

The Jewish high-priest's robe was adorned with a row of golden bells,[19] and they are consecrated in Russia[20]. In Spain at the proclamation of Isabella (1474 A.D.) bells were specially pealed[21], and the coronation of English kings is announced by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells[22].

10. The Gold Carpet, Kinkhâbî or Karchobî.

A carpet of cloth of gold is spread at Darbârs in front of the throne only, and the most honoured guest alone is received on it. All other visitors to the Darbâr should not step on it, but pass it by, either to the right or left, according to rank. And on no account should they turn their backs to the Princely host or the Royal guests.

11. Flowers.

All over India flowers are held to be lucky, and for that reason are thrown over bridges, and on bridegrooms, images and guests of consequence.[23] In South India men wear them in their turbans and women in their hair[24]. The Beni-Isrâ'îl bridegroom is covered from head to foot with flowers[25] and Roman Catholic churches are consecrated under chaplets of flowers[26]. Elsewhere in the world golden flowers are sometimes strewn when a great man passes through a city.[27]

12 Burnell and Hopkins, *Ordinances of Manu*, p. 20.
13 Josephus, *Antiquities*, Vol. III, p. 6.
14 Middleton, *Conformity between Popery and Paganism*, p. 145.
15 *Kâthiâwâr Gazetteer*, p. 261.
16 Gray, *Fourteen Months in Canton*, p. 314.
17 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVIII, p. 167.
18 Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*, pp. 503 f.
19 Mackay, *Freemasonry*, p. 135.
20 Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 275.
21 Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 307.
22 Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*, p. 347.
23 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVIII, pp. 132, 146; vol. XXI, p. 115; vol. XXII, p. 155.
24 Dubois, vol. II, p. 353.
25 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVIII, p. 519.
26 *Op. cit.*, vol. XXII, p. 387
27 Dyer, *Folklore*, pp. 168, 170.

12. The Chauri, Fly-Flap.

This is a sign of authority, and one with a golden handle indicates Royalty. The original meaning, however, is due to the belief that hair attracts spirits, the *chaurî* being of the tail of the *yak* (ox). So they are waved with the object of gathering together all evil spirits hovering round a person. The sacredness of the *chaurî* to a Hindu lies in the fact that the female *yak* is a cow.

13. Nazars, Gifts.

Gold and jewels are held to be auspicious, and a *nazar* to the highest in the land should be of one or the other. A *nazar* offered by a Prince is not refused, but touched with the hand and handed over to a *chôbdâr* or *subnîs* (a Darbâr official), whose business is to restore it to the Jawâhirkhâna of the guest or to send it to the Toshâkhâna of the Imperial Government. *Rikta pânirna pashvetu Râjân Devatan Gurum*; Râjas, Godlings and Religious Preceptors should not be visited with an empty hand.

14. The State Chairs.

The term 'throne' (*thronos*) means a chair. The Royal chair should be supported on lions, and the chief Imperial guest's state-chair should be placed higher than those intended for others and should be drawn a few inches in front of them. It should be gilt or silvered.

15. Pankhâ or Fan.

The fan is also a sign of royalty. *Nṛipatar—vyajanâdibhistam nunude*; a king should be cheered with fans to drive away depression.

16. The Spear.

Long spears are carried by orderlies as a safeguard against elephants in procession, should they become restive, but short spears with long heads (*ballam*) and adorned with tassels are carried in front of a Râja as symbols of authority.

17. Tambul.

Betel (nut and leaf), with mace, cloves and cardamoms form a *tâmbul*, which is an auspicious offering. They should be covered with gold leaf when offered to Royalty and with silver when offered to Sardârs. One in a lower grade has to rise in receiving or offering a *tâmbul*, but when the host rises to distribute *tâmbul*, every one present must rise until the distribution is over. The host offers it first to the chief guest or visitor, himself sitting or standing according to the guest's rank. To all others a Minister or Court Official (Sabnîs) distributes the *tâmbul*. The distribution over, it is followed by garlands and *'atar*, the signal for departure.

The *tâmbul* is placed in a *tabak*, a vessel generally resembling a lotus, or a silver plate covered with *repoussé* work with the lotus as its design. The *chauphula* or cardamom-box is shaped either like a lotus or a mango, because both the lotus and the mango are auspicious. Fantastic shapes for these articles, as that of a crane for the *gulâbdân*, or a European spray-producer are modern innovations and undermine the gravity and sanctity of a Darbâr.

BUDDERMOKAN.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

WHEN treating of Arakan, Mr. Geoffrey Harvey in his *History of Burma* has at the beginning of his account the following passage : " After the Xth Century A.D. the country was professedly Buddhist, notwithstanding the spread of Mahomedanism, which reached Achin in 1206 and dotted the coast from Assam to Malaya with the curious mosques known as Buddermokan, reverenced by Buddhist and Chinamen as well as Mahomedans."

This passage brought to my mind an old research of my own while in Burma, and afterwards, which I never completed. The subject is, however, of much general interest and I now publish what I then unearthed between 1891 and 1908 in the hope that this question of a seamen's spirit may be probed to its source. In the latter year I drew up the following abstract of my researches, which I entitled " The Wanderings of a Cult in India—the God of the Flood." It states the result up to that date. No doubt since then fresh information has become available to those with the opportunity for further delving into the subject.

Along the coast of Burma from Akyab to Mergui are certain shrines known to Europeans as Buddhamakam, which have no connection with Buddha or Buddhism. They are " universal " shrines, *i.e.*, they are accepted by the Buddhists, Hindus, and Muhammadans, Natives of India, Burmese and Chinese alike, which is a sure sign that they are symbols of the animistic faith which underlies all Indian religions. Their chief votaries are sailors, fishermen, and those who obtain a livelihood on the water.

The name is not Burmese, but Indian, and is Muhammadan in origin. It is properly Badarmaqâm—the shrine of Badar. This Badar is no less a personage than Pîr Badar of Chittagong, known throughout Indian Muhammadan hagiology as Badru'ddîn Auliâ. Now Badru'ddîn Auliâ represents by his attributes Khwâja Khizar in modern Bengal.

Khwâja Khizar is the popular modern Indian form of the Muhammadan Spirit of the Flood, Al-Khidhr, of the Koran, according to the early Arab tradition, and subsequently of all Muhammadan story. His legend is, in the Muhammadan forms of it, mixed up with that of Mehtar Ilyâs, the Prophet Elias of the Jewish tradition and belief, who in Jewish and allied superstitions represents the Spirit of the Flood. This form of belief still exists in Russia and finds expression in the water festival of the Prophet Ilyâ.

Thus is this ancient animistic belief traceable through the ages to the present day from Christian Russia to Buddhist Burma, through all Semitic and Muhammadan nations and across Northern Hindu India. Indeed, many observers claim him as Hindu in origin, an opinion that is confirmed by the stories of a nature similar to those about Khwâja Khizar, which are told in connection with the cult of Śiva in his forms of Bhadra and Madra in the Southern and Western portions of India.

I.

Pir Badar in Burma.

I started my enquiries by a communication to the *Rangoon Gazette* in 1893 entitled " Pîr Badar in Burma," which ran as follows :—Dr. Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, 1890, p. 338, makes the following statement :—" On the day following [the 28th June, 1687] the ship *James*, the consort of the *Curtana*, arrived in Mergui Harbour, and Armiger Gosline, her commander, was ordered to ride near the *Resolution* opposite Mr. White's house, to prevent the crew taking the vessel to the other side of Banda-makhon."

In a long footnote Dr. Anderson remarks on this statement thus :—" The Banda-makhon of Davenport is the island that forms the western side of Mergui Harbour . . . . In the map of the northern part of the Mergui Archipelago published by James Horsburgh, hydrographer to the Hon. East India Company, Feb. 1, 1830, and corrected at the Admiralty up to June, 1871, this small island is called Madramacan. But I could find no native of Mergui who knew it by this name, as it is invariably called Pataw.

"Towards the northern part of the eastern shore of the island there is, however, a locality, which the inhabitants of the town of Mergui called Buddhamakhan, and I am disposed to think that Madramacan is a corruption of this word. It is said to have derived its name from the circumstance that a Mahomedan saint called Buddhar Udin resided there. The legend about him is that he came from the North by sea, and being attracted to the northern part of Pataw by its natural beauty, he built a hut on the banks of a small stream, where it enters the sea, and where lies a huge boulder, on which he meditated for forty days receiving from God whatever he asked for in his prayers. The Mahomedans, in consequence, called the place Buddhar Udin's Makhan.

"It is a curious circumstance, however, that the place is reverenced alike by Buddhists and Mahomedans, and by the Chinese of Mergui. The Buddhists, after the custom of their religion, affix gold leaf to the boulder, whereas the Chinese leave small squares of brown paper ornamented with a representation in gold leaf of their deity, who patronises seafaring-men.

"Colonel Sir Edward Sladen informs me that the promontory at Akyab, known as the Point, is called by the Arakanese Buddha Makan after a Mahomedan saint, Buddha Aouliah, who chose it as a place of residence, and passed the greater part of his hermit life there. The place and its surroundings are regarded as sacred by all creeds and classes of natives residing in Arakan, Buddhists, Mahomedans and Hindoos all come, and either worship, or solicit intercession with the unseen powers as a means of deliverance from evil, or success in any proposed worldly undertaking. 'One of the large boulders has been hewn out, so as to represent a natural cave, which is said to have been the residence of Buddha Sahib'; and Sir Edward mentions that on an immediately adjoining boulder there is a small Mahomedan mosque.

"On still another boulder more sacred than the rest a dome has been built, 'because it contains the footprint of Buddha [? the Auoliah above mentioned], as well as an impression or indenture made by him when he knelt in prayer or went through other devotional exercises.' 'Hindus' according to Sir Edward Sladen, 'are said to have been the first who discovered the saint's supernatural power. He is by them supposed to exercise an influence over marine affairs and navigation; and in verification of this I have the authority of the accomplished Babu Pratapa Chandra Gosha, that Hindus, especially women of the Lower Bengal, on going on a pilgrimage by river or sea generally drop a few coppers into the waters as an offering to Buddha Udin, saying. *Darya ka panch payse Buddhar Buddhar* !' "

Dr. Anderson then asks:—"Is it likely that the Mahomedans have appropriated some legend about Buddha Gautama ?" The answer of the present writer would be; "most assuredly not."

In an old map, dated c. 1760, entitled *Archipel de Mergui dans le Golphe de Bengale*, there occurs opposite Mergui, the name "I[sle] Badranan." And in a plan of the same date, entitled *Port et Bourg de Mergui*, there occurs opposite the town of Mergui "Isle Bader Moncan." In a modern map, on the West bank of the Naaf River on" Shahpuri Id " occurs "Budarmakam Beach."

In Dunn's *Directory of the East Indies*, 1780, p. 332, I read as follows : "Directions for sailing to and from Mergui ; if you would keep mid-channel toward the Island of Madramacam (which you will see to S.S.E.) . . . . At Mergui are many Mahomedans, who are the principal traders of it." And at p. 198, I find : "as far as the mouth of the Arakan river. The edge of that which projects the farthest, is 6 leagues from the land Westward of Maw hill, situate on the North side of the river of that name. That to the Southward is formed by the Island of Badremacan, which makes the North point of Arakan river . . . . In order to avoid the banks to the Southward of Point Badremacan . . . .

I next looked up Butler's *Gazetteer of the Mergui District*, 1884, and found it silent on this and all other antiquarian subjects, but on 13th October 1893 I appealed to Mr. C. S. Bayne, then in the Burma Secretariat, and through him I secured from Col. Parrott, Commissioner of Arakan, in the same month, the following useful statement from papers in his office :—

" That part of Akyab Town, known as the Point or Scandal Point, is in reality a narrow headland or promontory, which projects into the sea beyond the coast line, and defines on its western side the mouth or entrance of the Kaladan River. It is called by the Arakanese Buddhamaw, *maw* being the Burmese for a promontory and Buddha signifying Budder. This is in reality a Burmese corruption of the Urdu original, Buddermaw, or Buddermakam. The promontory itself of Buddermaw forms the apparent termination to a range of hills, which skirt the whole length of the Arakan coast line, and are traced South of Akyab in the highlands which form the Western Borongo Island. The same range is continued at Ramree and comes to an abrupt termination in the Island of Cheduba.

" At the base of this headland, immediately south of the town of Akyab, there is a defined line of almost perpendicular tilted rock, the bare surface of which is exposed and weather-worn, so as to present the appearance of several huge boulders piled up into a compressed mass and raised some fifty feet above the level of the surrounding country. This is the spot known as Buddermakam, and takes its name from the Mahomedan saint Budder Aulia, who chose it as a place of residence and passed the greater part of his hermit life there.

" The place and its surroundings are regarded as sacred by all creeds and classes of natives residing in Arakan. Buddhists, Mahomedans and Hindus all come, and either worship or solicit intercession with the unseen powers, as a means of deliverance from evil or success in any proposed worldly undertaking. One of the large boulders on the ridge has been hewn out, so as to represent a natural cave, which is said to have been the actual residence of Budder Sahib. On another immediately adjoining is a small Mahomedan mosque. A dome has been built over a third, more sacred than the rest, because it contains the footprint of Buddha, as well as an impression or indenture made by him when he knelt in prayer, or went through other devotional exercises.

" It seems at first difficult to account for the fact that three such opposing creeds as Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Buddhism should unite to worship at the same shrine and believe in the efficacy of offerings to an unseen power, common to all three, under slightly varying designations and conditions.

" The explanation I have arrived at is as follows:—Budder Auliâ, or, as he is more familiarly styled, Budder Sahib, was a Mahomedan *fakir*, who possessed great supernatural powers, which led to his being regarded almost in the light of a prophet. It is only natural that Mahomedans should reverence the spot where he lived and died, and offer their prayers under a surer hope of their being heard, than if offered up elsewhere. Buddhists, in deference to the divine character of the saint Budder, mix him up in their minds with the guardian *nat*, or minor deity, of the place. They, therefore, worship him regularly and are profuse in their reverence and religious offerings.

" Hindus are said to have been the first who discovered Budder's supernatural powers. He is by them supposed to exercise an influence over marine affairs and navigation, so that those who make offerings and invoke his aid, perform successful sea voyages, and return in safety with wealth acquired on the journey to their native homes.

" The legend states, that, on one occasion, two Hindus, by name Manich [? Manik] and Chand, were returning by sea from Bassein to Chittagong, and put into Akyab to take in water. They anchored off the rock known as Buddermakam, and proceeded to a small tank near the sacred rocks. Here they met the *fakir* , and were asked by him to hollow out the cave, which was to form his future habitation. They pleaded poverty and the losses they had sustained in their trading adventure. The *fakir* said, 'never mind, do as I bid you. If you are poor and without merchandize, load the soil from this sacred spot, and before your journey's end, you will be rewarded '. The brothers did as they were bid. The cave was constructed, a well dug and they proceeded on their journey towards Chittagong. The *fakir's* words came true. On proceeding to unload their goods, they found in their place nothing but gold and the most valuable of gems.

"Miracles are performed to this day, it is believed, by virtue of the powers still exercised by the *fakir*. Sick people are cured by coming and bathing in the water of the sacred well. Others who cannot come themselves, obtain relief as soon as the votive offering has been made on their account at the shrine, and the saint or *fakir*, or minor deity, has appeared, or has made intercession, or exercised supernatural agency, as the case may be.

"Amongst Burmese and Arakanese, the most common form of offerings made to the *nats* or minor deities consists of food or strong drinks. Here at Buddermakam, it has been found that the sacrifice of a goat on the spot is the most efficacious of offerings, and it is the one which is most prominently made by those who have any great favour to ask, or any impending calamity from which they would seek deliverance.

"There is, I am told, at Sandoway a singular group of large boulders, similar in appearance to those at Buddermakam, and similarly named and held in reverence. It is, no doubt, due to Budder Sahib's connection with navigation and sea journeys that his fame has extended along the whole coast line as far south as the Malayan peninsula, and probably further. This will account for the shrine near Mergui called Maddramakam. Maddra is undoubtedly a corruption of Buddra or Budder.

"From the description given of each, I conclude that the two shrines are in all respects identical, both as regards nature of site, general appearance and universality of worship."

It will have been noticed by the reader that the description given by Sir Edward Sladen and the official note just quoted are identical in many respects. They are stated to have in fact a common origin, in notes left in the Commissioner's Office, which I suspect must have been Sir Arthur Phayre's, if only they can be unearthed.

In the *List of objects of Antiquarian and Archæological interest in British Burma*, 1892, p. 3f, we find—"No. 8 ; District Akyab : Locality ; Southern side of the island of Akyab and near the Eastern shore of the Bay ; Name of object : Buddha-makam Cave. Any local history of tradition regarding it ; a cave and mosque constructed in memory of one Buddha Auliya, whom the Mussulmans regard as an eminent saint. The tradition regarding it is that, some 120 years ago [*c.* 1771 A.D], two brothers Manik and Chand traders from Chittagong, while on their homeward voyage in a vessel laden with turmeric, touched at Akyab for water and anchored off the rocks, now known as the Buddha-makam rock. During the night, Manik had a vision, in which he was requested by the saint to construct him an abode near the locality, being told that in order to enable him to do so all the turmeric in his vessel would be transformed into gold. Next morning the brothers, observing the miraculous transformation of their cargo, dug a well and constructed the present cave. Custody and present use :—Worship by Buddhists, Hindus and Mussulmans. Present state of preservation ; it is in good condition and is kept in repair by a respectable Mussulman."

In the entries regarding Sandoway and Mergui in this very perfunctory compilation there is no reference to any cave as a place sacred to Badar Auliâ.

In Forchammer's *Report on the Antiquities of Arakan*, 1892, p. 60 f, we find the following information, together with a photograph, No. 88, Plate xlii.

"There are a few modern temples in Akyab which are interesting, inasmuch as their architectural style is a mixture of the Burmese turreted pagoda and the Mahomedan four cornered minaret structure surmounted by a hemispherical cupola. The worship, too, is mixed. Both temples are visited by Mahomedans and Buddhists, and the Buddermokan has also its votaries.

"The Buddermokan is said to have been founded in A.D. 1756 by the Mussulmans in memory of one Budder Auliah, whom they regard as an eminent saint. Colonel Nelson Davies in 1876, Deputy Commissioner of Akyab, gives the following account in a record preserved in the office of the Commissioner of Arakan, and kindly lent to me :—'On the Southern side of the island of Akyab, near the eastern end of the Bay, there is a group of masonry buildings, one of which in its style of construction, resembles an Indian mosque ; the other is

a cave constructed of stone on the bare rock, which superstructure once served as a hermit's cell. The spot where these buildings are situated is called Buddermokan, Budder being the name of a saint of Islam, and *mokan*, a place of abode. It is said that 140 years ago [*i.e.*, in 1736 A.D., be it noted] or thereabouts, two brothers named Manick and Chan [? Chand], traders from Chittagong, while returning from Cape Negrais in a vessel loaded with turmeric, called at Akyab for water, and the vessel anchored off the Buddermokan Rocks. On the following night, after Chan and Manick had procured water near these rocks, Manick had a dream that the saint Budder Auliah desired him to construct a cave or a place of abode at the locality near where they procured the water. Manick replied that he had no means wherewith he could comply with the request. Budder then said that all his (Manick's) turmeric would turn into gold, and that he should therefore endeavour to erect the building from the proceeds thereof. When morning came Manick, observing that all the turmeric had been transformed into gold, consulted his brother Chan on the subject of the dream and they conjointly constructed a cave and also dug a well at the locality now known as Buddermokan.

" 'There are orders in Persian [? *i.e.*, in the Persian or Urdu character] in the Deputy Commissioner's Court of Akyab, dated 1834, from William Dampier, Esquire, Commissioner of Chittagong, and also from T. Dickenson, Esquire, Commissioner of Arakan, to the effect that one Hussain Ally (then the *thugyi* of Bhudamaw Circle) was to have charge of the Buddermokan in token of his good services rendered to the British force in 1825, and to enjoy any sums that he might collect on account of alms and offerings.

" 'In 1849 Mr. R. C. Raikes, the officiating Magistrate at Aykab, ordered that Hussain Ally was to have charge of the Buddermokan buildings, and granted permission to one Mah Ming Oung, a female *fakir*; to erect a building. Accordingly in 1849 the present masonry buildings were constructed by her. She also re-dug the tank.

" 'The expenditure for the whole work came to about Rs. 2,000. After Husain Ally's death his son Abdoolah had charge, and after the death his sister Me Moorazamal, the present wife of Abdool Marein, pleader, took charge. Abdool Marein is now in charge on behalf of this wife.' "

Burmese corruptions of Mussulman names are always difficult, and those just given are, as stated, impossible. All I can suggest for Marein is that it is a mistake for Karen (= Karîm) and that the pleader's name was 'Abdu'l-Karîm, "the servant of the Generous"; or possibly, by metathesis, for Rahîm, which would make his name 'Abdu'r-Rahîm, "the servant of the Compassionate," Ar-Rahîm is the second and Al-Karîm is the forty-second of the 'Ninety-nine Names' of God. See Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 141, Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 240ff, and the present writer's *Proper Names of Punjabis*, p. 43 ff. There is no "Most Comely Name of God" at all like Marein. Moorazamal may be merely a misprint of Murazamat, a possible designation for a woman.

Dr. Forchhammer next goes on to describe the "Buddermokan" thus:—"The interior is very simple,—a square or quadrangular room. There are really two caves, one on the top of the rocks. This has an entrance in the north and south sides : the arch is vaulted and so is the inner chamber. The exterior of the cave is 9 feet 3 inches wide, 11 feet 6 inches long, and 8 feet 6 inches high; the inner chamber measures 7 feet by 5 feet 8 inches, height 6 feet 5 inches. The material is partly stone, partly brick plastered over ; the whole is absolutely devoid of decorative designs. The other cave is similarly constructed, only the floor is the bare rock, slightly slanting towards the south entrance : it is smaller than the preceding cave. The principal mosque stands on a platform : a flight of brick and stone stairs leads up to it. The east front of the temple measures 28 feet 6 inches ; the south side 26 feet 6 inches ; the chamber is 16 feet 9 inches long and 13 feet wide : the ceiling is a cupola ; on the west side is a niche, let 1 foot into the wall with a pointed arch and a pillaster each side. [This must be the *mihrâb* that is obligatory in every mosque.] Over it hangs a copy in Persian ? [character not language], of the grant mentioned above. A small prayer-hall [if meant for Muhammadans

this is (?) an *îdgâh*], also quadrangular, with a low cupola, is pressed in between the rocks close by. All the buildings are in good order. The curiously shaped rocks capped by these buildings form a very picturesque group. The principal mosque has become the prototype for many Buddhist temples. This pagoda is the most perfect type of the blending of the Indian mosque and the Burmese turreted spire."

I cannot quite follow Dr. Forchammer in mixing up the terms "temple," "mosque," and "pagoda" in one and the same building. But I am quite of one mind with him as to the extreme architectural value of the old mosque at Akyab and have long pitched on its dome and central spire as the connecting link between ancient *chaitya* architecture and the modern Burmese spired pagoda. From this point of view this building is certainly one of the most important old structures in Burma, and one of the most worth preserving.

On the 13th December 1893, Mr. A. L. Hough wrote to me from Akyab, as Deputy Commissioner, forwarding me a letter from the Deputy Inspector of Schools, who was, I suspect, a Bengali from his spelling of place names. The presentation of the information is so quaint that it is given here just as it was received:

"Bodor Mukam, correct word is Bodor Mukhan, the residence of Bodor, Pir Bodor or Bodor Sahib or Bodor Auliya. There are different names by which he is known. His name is Shaik Boderuddîn, *i.e.*, he does not belong to the direct descendant of the Prophet, but he belongs to the common class of people. He was well versed in Arabic and Persian. He is said to be Mulvie. He is an Indian, most probably nearest to Punjab. He began his career of religious life from Jama Musjid of Delhi. He had three other, his intimate friends, with whom he used to attend many a religious lecture.

"Tradition: there lived in ancient time a very rich man in India, who had a beautiful daughter. There lived in the same town a Fakîr, or Devotee, whose name was Shaik Firît (the well known Shekh Farîd). One day when this Devotee was passing by that richman's house, his daughter saw the Devotee in dirty and filthy rags. Seeing this, she drew her nose saying: 'What a loathsome man the mad man is'. The very night she had very severe pain in her stomach. No one can cure. The cause was attributed to her insulting the Devotee. So the Devotee was invited and begged pardon. But he said: Unless she drinks some water wrung out of his filthy rags, she will never be cured.[1] But at last owing to very severe pains she drank. From that day she showed signs of pregnancy, and after 10 (lunar) months the Badoruddin is said to have been born."

From this statement it is clear that Badar of Badarmuqâm is Badaru'ddîn Auliâ (of Chittagong): Badaru'ddîn being the same name as the familiar Bedreddin of the *Arabian Nights* of childhood.

I have now allowed such witnesses as I can procure from the Burmese side to tell their story, each in his own way, and the evidence amounts to this. There is a supernatural being, worshipped along the Burmese coast by seafarers from Akyab to Mergui at certain spots specially dedicated to him. These spots, so far as yet known, are at Akyab, Sandoway and Mergui. To the Buddhists he is a *nat*; to the Hindus a *deva* or inferior god; to the Muhammadans a saint; and to the Chinese a spirit. His worship is precisely that which is common all over the East to spirits or supernatural beings, believed in by the folk irrespective of their particular form of professed belief, and it points, in just the same way as do all other instances, to the survival of an old local animistic worship in "pre-religious" days. As in all other similar cases, one of the contending local professed religions has chiefly annexed this particular being to itself, and he is pre-eminently a Muhammadan saint, legendarily that saint best known to the bulk of the Muhammadan seafaring population, namely, Pir Badar of their own chief town Chittagong.

(To be continued.)

[1] This is a common *Hindu* superstition.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE ABOUT THE TEACHERS OF THE UPANISADS.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

THE theory that *Adhyâtma-vidyâ* or *brahma-vidyâ* or the Upaniṣadic cult arose originally among a sect of the Kṣatriyas and that it was not of Brâhmanical origin, is based on a few anecdotes of the Upaniṣads themselves. In a paper published elsewhere [1], we have attempted to shew that an examination of the Upaniṣadic texts as a whole does not bear out this contention. In this paper we propose to deal with the external evidence on this point.

In the subsequent literature of the country, such as the *Mahâbhârata* and the like, there are indications as to the origin of the Upaniṣadic cult ; and an examination of these will show that after all, though there were Kṣatriya kings who were great and powerful patrons of this *vidyâ*, and without whose support it would perhaps never have spread, yet, in reality, the actual teachers of this cult were a class of Brâhmans :—not necessarily the same class who busied themselves with the performances of Vedic sacrifices and the enunciation and elaboration of the rules about these performances ; but still Brâhmans. Some of these Brâhman teachers, *e.g.*, Yâjñavalkya, were also past masters in the details of ceremonial performances ; others, like Śankarâchârya of later times, were rather disinclined to believe in their efficacy, *e.g.*, the author of the *Kena Upaniṣad*. But we have no conclusive evidence to show that the Upaniṣadic *brahma-vidyâ* was of non-Brâhman origin and that the Brâhmans only adopted it and Brâhmanised it in later times. Tradition is definitely against any such hypothesis ; and we have no reason to discard the evidence of tradition in this matter.

Kṣatriyas like Kekaya (*Chândogya Upaniṣad*, 5. 11), and Janaka (*Brihadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 5. 14) could certainly put Brâhmans of the type of Buḍila to shame on account of their ignorance of *brahma-vidyâ :* such Kṣatriyas were no doubt highly proficient in it ; but even they were taught by Brâhmans, though, of course, of a superior type to that of Buḍila. The Kṣatriyas, therefore, only exercised the function of patrons ; the actual teachers of the *vidyâ* were, almost without exception, Brâhmans. Of course, all Brâhmans were not *Brahmavâdins*, just as all Kṣatriyas were not patrons of this cult.

Janaka's is a famous name in this connection. His court—the court of Videha—was an important seat of the culture of *brahma-vidyâ*. We find in the *Brihadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad* plenty of people, versed in *brahma-vidyâ*, congregating there and holding discourses on *brahma-vidyâ*. Janaka patronised them by gifts and encouraged them by his powerful moral support. He took an intelligent interest in the subject, but was hardly a teacher of the subject in the proper sense of the term. On the contrary, we have clear statements to the effect that he was instructed by the celebrated Brâhman Yâjñavalkya. Bhavabhûti, the dramatist, repeats this assertion in his *Uttaracharita*, Act IV :

Yâjñavalkya-munir-yasmai brahma-pârâyaṇam jagau.

Here Janaka is being introduced as one to whom " Yâjñavalkya sang the highest truths about Brahma."

The statement of the *Viṣṇu Purâṇa* (iv. 5. 14) that the kings of Mithila were very much devoted to *âtma-vidyâ*, only indicates that Mithila was an important seat of Upaniṣadic culture ; but it does not indicate that the kings were themselves actual teachers.

In the *Mumukṣu-vyavahâra-prakaraṇam* of the *Yoga-vâśiṣṭha Râmâyaṇam*, Sarga 10, 11, we have an interesting account of the descent of *brahma-vidyâ* (therein called *mokṣa-vidyâ*) to the earth. Vaśiṣṭha says that he was sent down by his father, the Creator Brahmâ, to preach *mokṣa-vidyâ* among the people (*śloka* 40, etc.) [2]. He was not alone in this mission ; other Riṣis like Sanatkumâra and Nârada were also commissioned to carry out the same work.

---

[1] " The Teachers of the Upaniṣads ", published in the proceedings of the Madras Session of the Oriental Conference, 1924.

[2] The references are to the Calcutta edition of the *Yogavâśiṣṭha*, published by the proprietors of the *Vangavâsi*.

These great teachers gave the world many *Smritis* and rules about the performance of Yajñas (*yajña-śâstrani*). But in the course of time, quarrels arose among the rulers of men ; they became selfish and began to fight each other. And they could no longer hold sway over their subjects without the use of force. For their benefit, to give them an insight into the nature of things, *adhyâtma-vidyâ* was communicated to them. *Adhyâtma-vidyâ* was thus first communicated to the kings, and *from* them (and perhaps, through them) was communicated to the people at large (*ślokas* 16-17). For this reason it is called *râja-vidyâ* and is a secret to be kept by the kings (*râjaguhyam*).

This term *râja-vidyâ* is of interest. Here it evidently implies connection with the princely caste. But Saṅkara, in his comment on the same word in the *Bhagavadgîtâ* (ix. 2.), says that the term only means " prince of knowledge " (*vidyânâm râjâ*), *i.e.*, the highest knowledge. Nilakaṇṭha, in commenting on the same word in the *Mahâbhârata*, agrees with Saṅkara's interpretation. Other commentators on the *Gitâ*, *e.g.*, Srîdhara, Madhusûdana, and Abhinavagupta, generally accept this meaning. Some of them, however, suggest the alternative meaning of the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* as well and even affirm that it involves a reference to particular kings like Janaka and others. But Saṅkara's interpretation is not only not challenged, but readily accepted.

It is curious to note that the passage in the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* is almost the same as in the *Gitâ*. Thus :

Yogavâśiṣṭha : *Râja-vidyâ râjaguhyam-adhyâtma-jñânam-uttamam* (ii. 11. 18).
Gitâ : *Râja-vidyâ râjaguhyam pabitram-idam-uttamam* (ix. 2).

That the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* was quoting from the *Gita*, may perhaps be assumed. For, elsewhere, (*Nirvâṇa-prakaraṇa*, Purvabhâga, Sarga 53, etc.), it refers to the incidents of the *Gitâ* and gives almost a *verbatim* summary of the instruction imparted to Arjuna.

But it is rather striking that, while the commentators of the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Gitâ* do not take the term *râja-vidyâ* to mean a knowledge that belonged to the princely caste, the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* has the courage to differ and suggests that this name was given to the *vidyâ*, because it was a secret possession of the kings and became public property for the people only through them.

In a case like this, one might be inclined to think that the subsequent process of Brâhmanising is responsible for the partial suppression of the fact that the *vidyâ* was originally of Kṣatriya origin ; and that the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* has somewhat escaped this process, and, though itself a Brâhmanic work, it has made an unconscious admission of the truth which was but imperfectly suppressed. But as against this position, it may be maintained that the omission of any reference to the Kṣatriyas in Saṅkara and others is not a case of *suppresio veri*. The reference is omitted, simply because the Kṣatriyas were after all only patrons and supporters and *not* teachers ; and the *vidyâ* was not called *râja-vidyâ* because of its Kṣatriya connection, but for other reasons. The author of the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* was perhaps only flattering a royal patron by emphasising the support extended to this *vidyâ* by his kith and kin ; and that is why a new meaning is given to the term. Some support for this contention is found in the context of the passage in the *Yogavâśiṣṭha*. There Râma is being persuaded to cultivate *mokṣa-vidyâ* ; in that connection, it is not amiss to refer to the fact that Kṣatriyas have always been close students of it. This reference, therefore, need not mean that the Kṣatriyas were the originators of the *vidyâ*.

Thus, even if the interpretation of the term *râja-vidyâ* as given by Saṅkara and others, be open to question, yet that in itself is no bar to our accepting literally the version of the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* as to the genesis of *adhyâtma-vidyâ*. It says that the Riṣis obtained the *vidyâ* straight from Brahma, or, might we not say, God ; and that the Kṣatriyas were only the first disciples. That is to say, it is still open to us to assert that the *vidyâ* arose among a section

of the priestly caste or Brâhmans and was cultivated by them, presumably as an esoteric doctrine, under the patronage of certain royal personages and families ; and it was only through these Kṣatriyas that it gradually percolated to wider circles of men.

Considerable support to this position is lent by the character of the warrior classes in general in the history of the world. We know what sort of man a feudal lord or baron was in mediæval Europe ; and we also know how he was gradually humanised and reclaimed from barbarity under the influence of the church and the clergy. With him the use of the muscle was more dignified than the use of the brain, and the pen was considered a contemptible instrument by the side of the sword. Surely he would not adopt speculation as an occupation in life.

That an Indian Kṣatriya was also a warrior, is beyond doubt. That he too, like his brother in Europe, valued war more than speculation, cannot be disputed ; and it can also be proved that the process of humanising him was no easy task for the Brâhman. He was not a speculator *ab initio*. Some of his class were made so, only under Brâhmanical influences.

The profession of arms would hardly ever go together with the profession of teaching. A Kṣatriya would even disdain to be a teacher. Though many Kṣatriya names have been deified, and at least one great Kṣatriya, *viz.*, Gautama Buddha, was the founder of a popular religion, still, as a general rule, teaching seems to have remained in the hands of the Brâhmans. And the account of the *Yogavâśiṣṭha*, therefore, may easily be taken to refer to this process of humanising the Kṣatriyas. At any rate, the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* does not say that the *vidyâ* was *started* by the Kṣatriyas ; at best, it can be understood to mean that for some time it was in the keeping of the Kṣatriya princes.

The same seems to be the meaning of the *Gitâ* in IV. 1-3 :—

Imam vivasvate yogam proktavân-aham abyayam (1)
Evam paramparâ-prâptam-imam râjarṣayo-'viduḥ (2)
Sa evâyam mayâ te 'dya yogah proktah purâtanah (3)

It is interesting to note again that the term *râjarṣi* here is not free from ambiguity. Nilakantha, for instance, is not quite certain whether it means 'kingly sages' (*i.e.*, Kṣatriya Riṣis), or whether it means 'kings *and* sages' (*i.e.*, princes *and* Riṣis). The second meaning would imply co-operation between the Kṣatriya and the Brâhmana, and would perhaps be the truer meaning. But even if the term is taken in its more usual meaning of Kṣatriya sages, our position is not altogether destroyed.

This account of the origin and transmission of *Karma yoga i.e.*, the *yoga* spoken of in the preceding chapter (chap. III.), is more or less in tune with the account of the *Yogavâśiṣṭha*. And the true position of facts can best be gauged by taking the two accounts together. It will then be seen that the possibility of the original teachers being Brâhmans is not ruled out. On the contrary, in XIII. 5, the *Gitâ* itself says that the doctrines spoken of there have been variously expounded by the Riṣis. The teachings of chapters III–IV are not opposed to those of chapter XIII ; and we have no reason to imagine that they originated with different groups of teachers. The *Gitâ* too, therefore, does not say that *adhyâtma-vidyâ* was a Kṣatriya *vidyâ*.

In the *Mahâbhârata*[3], XIII. 325-26. Śuka, son of Vyâsa, is said to have been sent by his father to Janaka, king of Videha, for receiving instruction in *brahma-vidyâ*. But this need not mean more than a reference to the fact that the court of Janaka was a well-known seat of *brahma-vidyâ*. For it is pointed out more than once that Janaka was Vyâsa's disciple and that Śuka was his *guruputra* or teacher's son. So, if Janaka was teaching at all, he was teaching not what was a secret Kṣatriya doctrine, but what he had learnt from a Brâhman.

[3] The references are to the *Vangavâsi* edition of the *Mahâbhârata*.

Besides, the description given in this chapter of Janaka's household and mode of life clearly indicates that he was not a rebel against Brâhmanical culture. On the contrary, his court and household were crowded with Brâhmans. And if he was the repository of a profound knowledge, the edifice of that knowledge had been built in close co-operation with the Brâhmans. In fact, it was a part and parcel of Brâhmanical culture.

This story of Śuka going to Janaka, with an almost identical description of Janaka's country and court, occurs in the *Yogavâśiṣṭha* also (II. 1). And the two accounts taken together lead to the same conclusion.

In chapter 275 of the same Sântiparva, we are told that a king Janaka initiated one Mândavya into the religion of renunciation or *Mokṣa-dharma*. It does not appear to have been a case of formal instruction ; and at best it was only a stray instance, and indicates that the Janaka family was exceedingly well posted in *brahma-vidyâ*. It does not prove that the teaching of the *vidyâ* did not belong to the Brâhmans.

On the contrary, in a large number of other places we have instances of princes, who had assumed the name of Janaka and who had received instruction from some Brâhman or other.

In XII. 290-98, Janaka listens to a discourse on *karma* and also *jñâna* from Parâśara and is highly pleased with it.

In XII. 302, Karâla Janaka, another Kṣatriya prince, receives instruction on *brahma-vidyâ* from Vaśiṣṭha.

In XII. 310-18, Yâjñavalkya gives several discourses on various topics, including *brahma-vidyâ*, to Janaka Daivârâti.

In these anecdotes the name of Janaka is rather perplexing. It is not the name of one king. (See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 96.) And it is not clear if it is always the name of kings of the same dynasty even. But we are pretty certain of one thing, *viz.*, that the Janaka dynasty of Videha were powerful and devoted patrons of *brahma-vidyâ* : and their court continued for a long time to be an important seat of this culture.

The Janakas, however, were never inimical to the Brâhmans. On the contrary, they were as famous for their sacrifices as for their knowledge of *brahma-vidyâ* : so much so, that the place where they performed their sacrifices had almost assumed sanctity and become a sacred place or *tîrtha* (*cf. Brahma Purâṇa*, chapter 88). And Brâhmans continued to hold important positions in the royal household and in the kingdom, and exercised immense influence upon the lives of the princes.

Even in *brahma-vidyâ*, the teachers engaged were Brâhmans. *Mahâbhârata*, XII. 218, says that the court of Janaka Janadeva was the seat of many teachers or *âchâryyâh* of different schools of religious practices, who thronged there and held discourses on diverse religious topics. A Riṣi of the name of Pañcaśikha went there once and gave discourses. The king was evidently a patron only and an enquirer : he was not the teacher himself, but only maintained the teachers.

In chapter 277 of the same *parva*, we are told of one Hârita who propounded *brahma-vidyâ*. Hârita is decidedly a Brâhman name.

Mahâbhârata, III. 132-34, contains an interesting account of the nature and consequences of the debates that were held in the court of Janaka. Brâhmans from different parts of the country congregated there and had debates on *brahma-vidyâ*. But those who were routed in the disputations were kept immersed in water. One Kahoḍa, disciple and son-in-law of Uddâlaka, was defeated in a debate and was so kept in water, according to the conditions of the debates. His son, Aṣṭâvakra, came to know of this and challenged the disputants in the court of Janaka, defeated them, and finally brought about the release of his father.

Whatever the other implications of this story may be, it shows that, though the Kṣatriya king took part in these discussions and put questions to the parties, still he was not a party himself in the strict sense of the term. The debates were really carried on by Brâhmans versed in the lore. The position of the king was half that of a patron and half that of a judge, who witnessed the wrangle and encouraged the parties by rewards and punishments. One may recall in this connection how in mediæval Europe, a Martin Luther would hold a public disputation in the court of a baron and would take the consequences. With some reservations, these debates might well be compared with the Diet at Worms or similar other Diets in the Middle Ages in Europe.

We are thus led to the conclusion that *brahma-vidyâ* was not a Kṣatriya or non-Brâhmana *vidyâ*. As the second highest caste among the twice-born, the Kṣatriyas were entitled to read it and did read it. Not only so, but some of them, holding important positions in society, gave their powerful support to it. And in this and similar connections, some Kṣatriya kings and chieftains, like Śrî-Kriṣṇa, have been deified. But these were only exceptions which confirm the rule rather than disprove it. The original teachers of the *vidyâ*, just like the subsequent elaborators and commentators, were almost exclusively Brâhmans. It is a mistake to think, therefore, that *brahma-vidyâ* was set up by certain Kṣatriya chiefs and clans, as a sort of revolt against the Brâhmans.

Our mistake in this connection is perhaps due to the fact that we are often inclined to regard the Brâhmans as one homogeneous group, all of whom were devoted to the practice and cultivation of the Vedic liturgy. But neither the Kṣatriyas nor the Brâhmans were all of one and the same clan. And as in modern society we find the Brâhman occupying different positions and following diverse callings in life, so, in ancient times also, the hereditary Brâhman was not always and necessarily a Vedic priest. In post-Upaniṣadic times we find him as a king's minister, as a *kañcuki* in the royal household, as a *vidûṣaka* or jester in the king's court, and even as a thief of the Śarvilaka type (see *Mricchakatika*) ; and besides, he was of course a priest and a teacher. In Upaniṣadic times also, we find among the Brâhmans those who knew only about the Vedic ceremonies and practices, like Śvetaketu at the assembly of the *Pañcâlas* and Aśvala at the court of Janaka; and also those who were experts in *brahma-vidyâ*, like Yâjñavalkya. It was Brâhmans of the type of Yâjñavalkya who were the fathers of *brahma-vidyâ*. And if there was any conflict between *karma* and *jñâna*, it was not manifested in society in a struggle between the Brâhman and the Kṣatriya ; but it was rather a conflict between Brâhmans and Brâhmans—between Brâhmans of the Yâjñavalkya type and Brâhmans of the Aśvala and Śâkalya type. And so, like the Brâhmanical literature, the Upaniṣadic literature also was produced and developed by the Brâhmans.

THE SEQUEL TO HIR AND RANJHA.

TOLD BY A PEASANT, PROPRIETOR OF JHANG, TO H. A. ROSE, I.C.S., IN 1884-5.

(*Continued from page* 19.)

Text.

'Ashiq sache nahin marde.

Maiṅ yād rakhtā hāṅ, jo merī 'umar us-vele chaudah pandrah varhiyāṅ-dī huīṅ, joṅ hik ādmī musāfir chālīh paintālīh varhiyāṅ-dā, ḥājī ākhīdā-hā, mere dādā buzurg Ḥāfiz Aḥmad (ghafru'llāhī 'inahi) de kol āiyā-āī. Us eh qissa kar-sunāiyā, jo :—

Maiṅ ās-pās mulk Chachh-Hazāre-dī rahnewāla hāṅ ; gharoṅ waste guzārne hajj khāna-ka'aba ke turā. Turdā, turdā, turdā jahāj ute charā. Taqdīr Khudā de nāl samundar vich oh jahāj kise marāh ṭoṭe-ṭoṭe hoyā. Irādah Haqq-pāk de nāl maiṅ hik takhta lakrī ute rah-giyā. Nahīṅ ma'alūm kitne dīnhāṅ nuṅ pichhe taqdīran kinārah ute kise jagah vanj-pahunchā.

Maiṅ bhukhā, trahāyā, mānda hāom. Kuchh turan phiran de āsang nāhe, hayātī bāqī hāī. Patr darakhtāṅ ate jhar darakhtāṅ : vī khāke kujh tākat jadāṅ āī. Uche uche pahārāṅ ate darakhtāṅ te charke wasoṅ ābādī ḍhūndā. Vekhdā-hāom kitne-hik wahāṅ, toṅ pichhe hik jāh te phūse majh dī ḍitthī, maiṅ jātā ki eh nishānī ābādī dī ma'lūm hondī hai. Pher man vich ākhdā-hāom ki jangal vich bhī ākhde han jo gāīṅ majhīṅ hondīāṅ han, īho jithe vichār dil-vich āndī-hāīṅ. Tadāṅ bhī usdī khurī dī nishān-nūṅ vekhdā, hik jāh te vanj-pohutthā jo dudh kharhdā-hā. Ate chaupher chaupher darakht jhāṭe chhān-wālī jangalī jinhān dā mainuṅ nāṅ bhī nahīṅ āndā. Ate kadīṅ ḍitthe bhī nahīṅ. Uthe jame hoī hāīṅ. Hik darakht vaḍā parā yā ukānh dā usdī jo usdī madh-wāle lakriyoṅ purāne hondī khor (ya'ne wāngoṅ dhol di) khālī hāī. Maiṅ us-vich varke, is ḍar koloṅ jo lokāṅ dī zabānī suna hoyā hā ki rāshak o jā vich honde han ate ādmiyoṅ-nuṅ phad-phadke khānde han. Luk-chhipke ḍardā ḍardā baithā.

Tāṅ jo dinh lahan dā velā hoyā, us-vele āwāz vajhlī (ya'ne baiṅsrī) dā maiṅ sunyāṅ, aur ḍitthā ki hik shakhs sahrī kālī idhar kītī hoī, baiṅsrī vagīndā. Hūā jāngal valoṅ āndā-he. Usdī pichhe majhīṅ āndiyāṅ han. Eh tamāshā jadāṅ maiṅ ḍitthā, dilvich apne āp ākhyā ki " Khudā jāne eh kon he ate keā tamāshā he."

Us jagah te oh ādmī āke bah-rahā, majhīṅ bhī usdī chaupher bah-rahyān. Thorī char pichhoṅ hik māī sāwā, sarhā kaprā kītā hūā, ate math te kandh kaḍhyā huā. Kuchh khānāṅ roṭī nayāṅ pakāīyāṅ hoiyāṅ, sar-ten chāiyān hoiyāṅ, us-de kol ā-baiṭhī. Gal-khaṭh hik-dūī nāl āpat-vich kitī. Vat roṭī kaḍhke us-nūṅ dittī. Jis-vele roṭī khāwan lagā us-vele us māī ākhyā ki " Miāṅ Rānjhā, hik musāfir tusādī mulk dā assā thī parhārāṅ he. Pahle roṭī khiwā, pichhe āp khā." Oh bolyā ki, " Kithe he ? "

Māī Hīr ākhyā ki " Tuṅ bulā," oh ā -vesīṅ. "

Miān Ranjhā āwāz dittā ki 'Ao musafir ā, chhip nahīṅ.!

" Maiṅ jātā ki jo asāḍī mulk Chach-Hazāre-vich Hīr-Rānjhā ākhidī-hāīṅ, ate unhāṅdī 'ishq dī gāwan gāndī hāiṅ, shāyad eh ādmi hosan. Maiṅ diloṅ khush hoke unhāṅ-dī ṭaraf āiyā. Unhāṅ merā ḥāl-aḥwāl puchhyā, maiṅ kar-sunāiyā. Oh khush hoe, roṭī ate dudh mainuṅ dittā, maiṅ khādhā pītā, ate uthaīṅ rahā kitenāṅ.

Pichhe unhāṅ ākhyā ki " tūṅ ithe rahsīṅ yā ki kadhāoṅ vanjanāṅ he ?

" Maiṅ ākhyā ki " Gharūṅ tāṅ maiṅ niyat hajj Khāna-Ka'aba de waste āiyā-hāṅ ; hun jo maiṅ rāh kisī dā sohān neh hon ate na koī kharch bakhā mere kol he, maiṅ kithe vanjāṅ?"

Oh has haske, ākhan lage ki " Assāṅ bhī hajj Khāna Ka'aba di karni-he. Je tūṅ chāheṅ tainuṅ bhī apne nāl le-dasnāhīn."

Maiṅ rāzī ate khush hoyā, ate itne gal puchhī ki: "Ithoṅ Khāna-Ka'aba kitnāṅ dūr padh he ? " Unhāṅ ākhyā ki: " Ture 300 kitne koh padh he."

Maiṅ puchhyā ki: " Padh yhūn he, kadān pohunchesāhīṅ ? "

Pher anhāṅ akhyā ki. " Tūṅ fikr na karī-vanj, sāīṅ," 'Hukm Rabb-de maiṅ chup kar -rahā.

Jadīṅ chan Hajj dā charyā us dihāṛe maiṅ ākhyā ki: "Tusāṅ ākhde ho ithori Khāna-Ka'aba trai-sau kitne koh he, kadāṅ turṣāhīṅ?"

Pher unhān ākhyā "Tainūn kehā fikr he. Assāṅ bhī nuṅ vanjnā he.

Jadīṅ oh dinh khāṣ Hajj dā āiyā unhāṅ mainuṅ puchhyā ki: "Tūṅ pher asāde nāl ithe āsīṅ yā uthe rahsīn."

Maiṅ ākhyā ki: "Uthe tusāde koe āsān."

Unhāṅ ākhyā ki: "Jiswakht aḥkām Hajj de jo han, jadāṅ sabb pūre pūre kar-raheṅ, tadāṅ ussīnuṅ fulān pahāṛī ute milīṅ, ki apne nāl tainūṅ assāṅ ithe le āsāhān."

Pher ākhyā ki: "Hath assānuṅ napā ate akhiāṅ het karnīṅ." Main hath pakaṛāiyā aur akhiāṅ hetyā. Thorī der vīchoṅ unhāṅ ākhyā ki: "Akh khol."

Jadāṅ maiṅ akh kholī, tadāṅ ḍitthā ki hazārāṅ ādmīṅ us jāh te khalote, tasbīhāṅ pher-rahe han, ẕikr Khudā karende han.

Maiṅ unhaṅ-thoṅ puchhyā ki: "Eh keā ho-rahā he? Ate kon jā he?"

"Unhāṅ ākhyā," Eh ādmī sabb Musalmān han aur eh Hajj dā makān he. Tūṅ aḥkām Hajj de jo han bajā liyā.

Uswaqt phir sabab ikattha ate bher admiyon de maitūṅ chip-yai. Do dihāṛe maiṅ uthe rahā, aur ādmiyāṅ apne desiyāṅ nuṅ, jo maithoṅ hik varihoṅ age hajj nuṅ āī-hūī-hāin milyā. Hāl ahwāl puchhyā, ākhyā. Dil-vich maiṅ jātā ki oh ādmī Hīr o Ranjhā dohīṅ Walī Mard-Khudā de han howe. Tāṅ unhāṅ-de ḍhūḍh kar-ke labhoṅ ate bāqī 'umar unhāṅde khidmat vich lagyāwāṅ. Jehrā apnā nishān unhāṅ choī pahāṛī dā dasyā-hā us-nuṅ ḍhūḍhā. Oh doīṅ uṭhe baiṭhe ḍitthe. Maiṅ khush hoyā ate shukrāna Khudā (jalla wa 'alā) dā kītā. Unhāṅ mainuṅ sunjātā ate apne kol sadyā akhyā ki: "Hun fārigh ho-rahā-hīṅ?"

"Maiṅ ākhyā; "Ḍhillā ho rahā hūṅ."

Phir merā hath pakaṛke ate usiṭarah ākhyā ki: "Akhiān būt." Thorī der toṅ pichhe jadāṅ akh kholī. Usī jāh pahle ute phohunche. Isī ṭarah kitne muddat panj chih mahīne khwāh vadh-gadh unhīndī khidmat maiṅ rahā, khāwan wāsṭe kadīṅ roṭī kadīṅ chāwal-dūdh hondī hāī. Rahī hik dihāṛe khiyāl bāl bachah ghardā mere dil vich āiyā, na rahe-sakā. Be-ikhtiyār rowan lagī. Unhāṅ maithoṅ puchhyā ki: "Tuṅ kyūṅ rondā-haiṅ?"

Maiṅ pahle to sharmīyā; pher jadāṅ unhāṅ wat wat puchhyā, tadāṅ maiṅ ākhyā ki: "Mainūṅ ghar-bār, bāl-bachah, dost bele yād āī haiṅ, rondā hūṅ."

"Unhāṅ hik dūī nuṅ ākhyā, ki: "Watan dī muḥabbat har hik nuṅ hondī he, toṅ sachā hīṅ je tuṅ ākhīṅ tainuṅ pohunchā deve.

Us-vele maiṅ ākhyā: "Je tusāṅ mainuṅ phunchāiyo, to merī chāh he."

Us-vele Māī Hīr ākhyā ki: "Tainuṅ Jhang Syāl vich phhunchā-dewnī hāīṅ. E par tūṅ uthe asāḍī zabānī is jā de Rais nuṅ asāḍī sanehā dewanāṅ ki: 'Māī Hīr te Miāṅ Rānjhā jīnde han, mūe nahīṅ. Ate tusīṅ unhānde ḥaqq vich bad-kammāṅ na-hoū, ki oh bure nahīṅ, usī-ṭarah majhīṅ Miāṅ Rānjhā charāindā-he ate Māī Hīr usde pās rahndī-he.' Tusāḍe ute hāṛī, gharībī ate miskīnī dī guzarde han, tusāṅ mere makān-iddatī āke janāb Khudāwand Karīm Rahīm se du'ā mango. Khudā tusāḍe du'ā qabūl farmāesī, tusānuṅ khushī, āsāish wa daulatmandī bakhshesī."

Maiṅ 'arz kītā, ki: "Jethā maiṅ us shahr Jhang Syāl vich jīndā-jīnd pohutthā-hāṅ, inshā 'llāh ta'alā, ẕarūr ẕarūr unhāṅ de kol, ya'ne Rais Jhang Syāl de kol, sārā ḥāl ākh-desāṅ."

Tadāṅ Māī Hīr Miāṅ Rānjhā merā hath pakaṛke ākhyā, ki: "Akhiāṅ būṭ."

Maiṅ akh būṭī, thorī char toṅ pichhe, unhāṅ ākhyā ki: 'Akh khol." Maiṅ jadāṅ akh kholī. Tadāṅ dinh-lāhaṅ ṭaraf Roẕa Māī Hīr dī jo hik darakht janḍ dā vadā hē, āpnuṅ usde tale ḍitthā. Kujh char maiṅ uthe baiṭhā-rahā. Roẕa Māī Hīr val turkar pohutthā, usde mujāwirāṅ koloṅ puchhyā ki, "Eh Roẕa kesdā he?"

"Unhāṅ ākhyā ki: "Eh Roza Māī Hīr Syāl dā he."

Trai-chār dihāṛe hoe han ki maiṅ us maḥān ute masjid de vich tahrā hūṅ. Puchhde puchhde tusāḍā nāṅw ma'lūm hoyā, ki tusāṅ buzurg, vadī 'umar de 'ālam fāzil, ḥāfiz Qurān

majīd o Asnād-qadīmī, Syālān, raīs is jā de howen. Akhī Māī Hīr dī zabānī rūbarū raīs Jhang Syāl sanehā dewanāṅ-he. Jekar tusāṅ mainuṅ apne nāl levanjhoṅ, tāṅ maiṅ apne zabānī unhāṇḍā sanehā jethā mainuṅ Māī Hīr apne zābānī ākhyā maịṅ unhāṅ nuṅ ākh-dewāṅ."

Us-waqt Māī Ṣāḥiba Khāṅ Ṣāhib Muhammad Isma'īl Khāṅ Raīs Bahādur Jhang de jīndī hāī. Oh ādmī Hāji hamrāh mere dādā Sāhīb Hāfiẓ Ahmad (ghafru'llāhi alaihi) ate maiṅ bhī (jo us-waqt merī 'umar chaudah pandrah varihoṅ dī hosīṅ) ghar Khān-Ṣāhīb de giyā, ate khidmat Māī Sāhība dī bāhar pardah de, oh Hājī Shakhṣ baiṭhā, ate sab ḥaqīqat jo bayān kītī-gaī-he, zabānī apne ākh-sunāī. Us-nuṅ do dihāṛe Māī Ṣāhiba tahrāyā aur kujh kharch rāh bhī dittā. Pher oh Ḥājī ṭur-giyā. Maiṅ yād rakhtā-hāṅ ki Māi Sāhiba unhāṅ dihāruyāṅ-vich makān jis-ute Roẓa nām-zad Māī Hīr dī he kī juma'rāt hamesha āwan vanjan kītā.

Khudā de fazl nāl o nāhāṅ dhāhāṅ-vich Khāṅ-Sāhib Muḥammad Isma'īl Khāṅ Ṣāhib de nām parwāna Telar Ṣāhib dā wāste rakhne naukaroṅ aur qabẓa kar-lewne mulk apnā Jhang Syāl ute, āgiyā jaisā jo Khāṅ-Sāhīb sab zamindarāṅ-nuṅ ba-tarīq jherān de, aur ḥasharī de ākhnā karke Sikhāṅ dushmanāṅ Angreẓaṅ diyāṅ nuṅ laṛāī karke bajhā-dittā. Ate mulk Syāl de hukūmat ba-dastūr-i-sābiq āiyā, ijdā unhāṅ de hawāla karditte. Aise buzurg ne farmāyā hai.

Buzurg Khudā dī karāmat
Bar haqq he aur sachī he, Faqat.

The Legend of 'Abdu'llāh Shāh of Samīn.[6]

Introductory Remarks.

"Abdu'llāh Shāh belonged to a Sayyid family living at Samīn, a village some miles south of DerāGhāzī Khān. He enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity, which is maintained by his family, now [1884] represented by a grandson of the original 'Abdu'llāh Shāh. The story is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of the heroes of the very favourite Panjābī tale of Hīr and Rānjhā in the after-world. Rānjhā is represented as still following his original occupation of a buffalo-herdsman, and as supplying milk to the Prophet.

"The story of Hīr and Rānjhā is of world-wide celebrity in the Panjāb. Hīr was the daughter of Chūchak, a Siāl of Rangpûr, in the Muzaffargarh District. Rānjhā's true name was Dīdho. He was by caste a Rānjhā Jaṭṭ, and is known almost exclusively by his caste name, which also takes the diminutive forms Ranjhuā, Ranjheṭā, and Ranjheṭrā. His father Manjū was a Chaudrī or Revenue Collector, and local magnate at Takht Hazāra, in the Gujrānwālā District."

Translation.[7]

'Abdu'llāh Shāh Sayyid lived at Samīn. He started on a pilgrimage [to Mecca], and went on board a ship. Going on, he proceeded, when the ship stopped. The crew exerted themselves, but the ship did not move.

A flock of birds was sitting on the seashore. The ship's master said : "Is there any such man here, who, for the sake of God, will risk his life [*lit.*, give his head] and alight from the ship, and go and make those birds fly away ? If the birds fly away the wind will reach the ship, and the ship will go on." 'Abdu'llāh Shāh said, "I will risk my life for God's sake." He alighted from the ship, and went and made the birds fly away ; the wind reached the ship and the ship went on.

'Abdu'llāh Shāh (left alone) on the edge of the sea started off along the land. He came to a certain place, and there he saw tracks of buffaloes. He took up these tracks, and following and following them, he went on and saw a smoke rising [*lit.*, a smoke smoking]. There was a buffaloes' grazing station (*jhok*) there. A redheaded woman was seated there. When 'Abdu'llāh Shāh approached, the woman rose and said, "In the name of God, 'Abdu'llāh Shāh of Samīn, you are welcome !" He asked her, saying, "Mother, who art thou ?" The woman said, "I am Hīr ; Mīāṅ Rānjhā is with his buffaloes. For the present sit down and rest. In the evening Mīāṅ Rānjhā also will come." In the evening the buffaloes returned

6 As taken down in the Balochi Language from the Narrative of Ghulām Muhammad Balachānī Mazār and translated by M. Longworth Dames.

7 The Baloch text is not given here.

to the station, and a red-bearded man came with them. 'Abdu'llāh Shāh asked (of Hīr) "Who is this man that is coming in the track of the buffaloes?" Hīr replied, "This is Mīāṅ Rânjhā." When he came, 'Abdu'llāh rose. The man said, "In the name of God, 'Abdu'llāh Shāh, you are welcome!" 'Abdu'llāh Shāh said, "All is well, Mīāṅ Rānjhā." Rānjhā asked him for his news. 'Abdu'llāh Shāh told him all that had happened to him. Rānjhā said, "Thy pilgrimage is accepted at the (divine) threshold. In the evening I shall take some milk, and bring you into the presence (of the Prophet.)"

Then having filled an earthen pot with milk and lifted it on to his head, he took Abdu'llāh Shāh by the hand, and said "Shut your eyes." He shut his eyes. Then Rānjhā said, "Now, open your eyes." When he opened his eyes he saw the Apostle of God sitting on his throne. The Prophet saluted him, and his pilgrimage was accepted.

There he saw a certain Kumhār (potter), an inhabitant of Samīn, on whom (the Prophet's court) imposed a fine of eighty rupees. After this the Prophet gave his command: "Mīāṅ Rānjhā thou art ordered to conduct 'Abdu'llāh Shāh back to his own town." They went out and returned to the Station. Mīāṅ Rānjhā said, "Stay here for two days, and drink my buffaloes' milk. Then I will take thee to thy own place." For two days he stayed there: the third day Rānjhā said, "Now give me your hand and then shut your eyes." He gave him his hand and shut his eyes. Then Rānjhā said, "Now let go my hand, and open your eyes." He opened his eyes and found himself standing in the town of Samîn. The whole world saw how 'Abdu'llāh Shāh came. The Kumhār came weeping to 'Abdu'llāh Shāh saying, "At such and such a place thieves have broken into the house of a certain carpenter. They brought the track and made it pass by the side of my house, and now the Government says, 'Pay up a fine of eighty rupees.' I am innocent, for God's sake get me off." 'Abdu'llāh Shāh said, "It is not for me to get this fine remitted, for it was imposed upon thee in the court of the Prophet's Majesty. Go and pay it."

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE ARMY OF RANJIT SINGH, by SITA RAM KOHLI. Part III. Reprinted from the Journal of Indian History. Vol. II, Part II, June 1923.

In the issue of this *Journal* for August 1924, I had occasion to review Mr. Sita Ram Kohli's first two papers on the army of the Mahârâja Ranjit Singh. The third paper of the series now lies before me and deals chiefly with the irregular cavalry, *Ghorcharah Fauj*, of the Sikh army, which, in the author's words, "represented the old Khalsa Military order at the close of the eighteenth century and served as a connecting link between the old system and the one introduced in the Panjab by Ranjit Singh." They were quite distinct and much stronger numerically than the regular cavalry, trained and organized on European lines by General Jean Francois Allard, who joined the service of Ranjit Singh in 1822 with his comrade, Ventura. Mr. Kohli quotes contemporary evidence to show to what a high state of smartness and discipline the latter attained under Allard's command. The *Ghorcharah Fauj* represented that portion of the irregular cavalry which was paid directly from the State treasury, as distinguished from the *Jagirdari Fauj* or feudal mounted forces, and was divided into two classes, the *Gorcharah Khas*, recruited exclusively from the provincial nobility, and the *Misaldar Sowars*, who originally belonged to various independent Sikh Chiefs and were transferred gradually to the Mahârâja's service, as their respective owners were forced to submit. The *Ghorcharah Fauj* originated in the wish of Ranjit Singh to bind the provincial nobility and their trained forces more closely to himself and his throne, and by 1845 had increased to a large force of about 16,000 men, divided into a multitude of *derahs* or camps, each under its own Sardar.

The author gives full and interesting details of the composition and organization, the pay and the strength at different periods, of this force, and mentions the curious fact that its ranks were not filled indiscriminately by members of all or any caste or nationality, but that each group (*misal*) was composed of men of one caste or clan. In cases of vacancies, this rule was rigidly observed. The *Jagirdari Fauj* is similarly discussed in detail. This force was raised on the principle well-known in other parts of India, viz., that each holder of a *jagir* or fief should furnish a certain number of efficient troops in return for the enjoyment of his fief or holding. This was the principle followed by the Maratha Government; it was also followed by the Portuguese in the early days of their rule in Western India, though the obligation to furnish military service was subsequently commuted for a quit-rent. The last section of the author's paper is

concerned with the garrisons or *fauj-i-qilajat*, which manned the forts of the Panjab. The system of administering them seems in some respects to have approximated to the arrangements made by Śivâjî in the seventeenth century for the Deccan hill-forts.

Mr. Sita Ram Kohli's third paper is well up to the standard set by the previous two, and will repay perusal by students of Sikh history.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 16. The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara by R. D. BANERJI. Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1924.

The temple described in this Bulletin belongs to the Gupta period and is situated in the village of Bhumra or Bhumara, twelve miles west of Unchehra in the State of Nagod. Cunningham appears to have visited the spot in 1873-74 and there discovered an inscribed boundary pillar, of which the inscription was edited by Fleet some years afterwards. Cunningham missed the temple, however, and it was not discovered till the beginning of 1920 by two officials of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle. According to Sir John Marshall, the temple belongs to the sixth century A.D., though Mr. Banerji is inclined to attribute it to the middle of the fifth century. The description of the shrine prepared by Mr. Banerji is detailed and exhaustive, and the character of the building and its carvings and ornamentation are well portrayed in the seventeen photographic plates, which succeed the text. Some of the carvings are remarkable, and the Archæological department is to be congratulated on rescuing them from the jungle which has so long hidden them from view.

S. M. EDWARDES.

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON, by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D. SC., Part IV. Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1924.

This well-printed work opens with an Introduction by Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, in which he briefly describes the character of the Jaina religion, the legends connected with Mahâvîra, Pârśvanâtha, and other protagonists of Jaina tradition, like Kâlakâchârya and Sâlibhadra, and the Jaina cosmology, literature, and painting. Many of the miniatures included in the catalogue are reproduced from MS. copies of the *Kalpa Sutra*, which Mr. Coomaraswamy believes to have been handed down in practically unaltered form from the fifth century A.D., though the oldest available MS. dates only from A.D 1237. He argues from the identity of composition of the pictures in the Jaina MSS. that the art of Jaina painting, as we meet it, clearly represents the survival of an old hieratic tradition, in which stories of the lives of the Jinas had long been presented in accordance with familiar formulæ. It is an art of pure draughtsmanship, or, as he puts it, "the drawing has the perfect equilibrium of a mathematical equation, or a page of a composer's score. Theme and formula compose an inseparable unity, text and pictures form a continuous relation of the same dogma in the same key." The book contains 39 plates of illustrations, very well reproduced ; but the average reader would find it difficult to understand their significance without the excellent explanatory Introduction which precedes them.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, 1924.

1. Plant and Animal Designs in Mural Decoration of an Uriya Village.
2. A Working Model of the Origin of the Ganges in a Temple in Ganjam.
3. The Boats of the Ganges.
4. The Fishing Methods of the Ganges.

The first of these papers is by Dr. N. Annandale and is a most useful production, as it illustrates a rustic art which is now fast disappearing. A valuable plan is also given of a composite house on the shores of the Chilka Lake. There is, however, no attempt to give anything beyond a mere account of the designs on the walls of the village houses, and perhaps it is not possible to say anything at present. There are excellent photographs attached to the paper by Babu D. N. Bagchi, a Brahman.

The next paper is also by Dr. N. Annandale with the assistance of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, and Mr. Percy Brown. The object of the paper is to describe a "little group of sculptures" in the village Kallikote near the Chilka Lake, relating to myths about the Ganges as a body of water. The sculptures are at the Temple of the Clear Springs (Nirmal Jahara), where advantage has been taken of a clear hill stream, in a country where such things are rare, to create a tank, ornament it, and surround it with legend in this case as to the origin of the Ganges. The legend is given in full and explained by Haraprasad Shastri. The sculptures do not appear to be old and are beautifully illustrated.

The third paper by Mr. James Hornell is a valuable one and gives an account of the various kinds of boats used on the Ganges, written with the peculiar knowledge possessed by the author. He begins with rafts and dug-out canoes, and then passes on to planks-built boats, including all the familiar varieties—passenger and fishing boats, large and small, rowing and racing skiffs, travelling houseboats, ceremonial barges and cargo carriers. In fact the whole of the Ganges system of water-carriage passes before one in these fascinating pages of the greatest interest.

In the last paper Mr. Hornell is equally fascinating in his thoroughly well-informed account of the various methods of fishing in the Gangetic area, whether in the many estuaries, lakes or in the river itself. It is well worth study.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES ON INDIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

BY RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.

THE following notes on certain musical instruments met with in India may be useful to students :—

The Bag-pipe Drone.

The instrument called *sruti-upânga* or *bhajana-sruti* in the Madras Presidency is a bag-pipe, used merely as a drone. It consists of a bag of kid skin, two pipes, a drone and a reed. The larger of the two pipes has holes in it, partially stopped with wax, to tune the instrument to the desired pitch. The bag is inflated from the mouth through the smaller pipe. The drone is made of cane and is mounted in a stack of the same material, which also contains the reed. The reed is in one piece, made of cane or of the large marsh reed.[1] The vibrations are controlled by a little piece of wire or fine string tied roughly round the tongue. Black wax is used to make the instrument air tight.

It is played in the Tamil country by Melakkâraṇs, musicians who accompany Devadâsîs, *i.e.*, girls offered to the gods as brides, who are really dancing-girls. In the Telugu country it is played by barbers or by men (Bogams) who accompany the songs of the Bogam-singers, and also by the orchestra of Hindu theatrical performances. There is also a class of Telugu wandering beggars found in, but not indigenous to, the Mysore State, who carry with them a bag-pipe made of the entire skin of a kid, with a hollow reed attached to one end, through which they blow until the bag is fully inflated. The air is then let through the reed, closed by the thumb, by partially opening. This gives a continuous drone, known as *sruti*, to the accompaniment of which they sing songs.

In Northern India there is a bag-pipe called *moshak* which does not differ much from the above in outward appearance,[2] but it contains a chanter and sometimes also a drone. It is, however, going out of use under the influence of the Brâhmans, as they bring the jungle population under tenets which hold it to be an abomination to handle skins, or to touch them so as to bring them near the mouth[3].

Day, *Music and Musical Instruments*, seems to think it probable that the bag-pipe had an Eastern origin, as he heard it played in India, Panjâb, and Afghânistân with a skill that would have done credit to a Highland-piper.[4] Day says also that "Indian Music has been compared to that of Scotland, but the resemblance can be traced principally to the frequent employment by both nations of a somewhat similar scale of five intervals, the fourth and seventh being omitted." He adds: "many of the graces and embellishments employed in the gipsy music in Hungary are to be found in Indian melodies . . . . M. Bongaut-Ducondray shows the striking resemblance of the Indian songs and the examples of melodies from the Levant, so much so that it is difficult to believe that their origin is not identical."

In Burma instruments of the bag-pipe class are made out of gourds. See Plate II, fig. 3.[5]

1 See Plate XV, p. 150, of Day's *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 1891.

2 See Plate XII of Balt. Solvyns De, Calcutta. London, 1804.

3 Enthoven, *Monographs* on the Phudgis, Bhojanias and Vaidus, shows that primitive tribes have already adopted many Brahman customs, slightly modified to suit their position in the social scale.

4 [It was, however, claimed by Col. Campbell that he introduced the bag-pipe into the Punjab Frontier Force .—R.C.T.]

5 [The Burmese scale is the same as the Indian, and a Burman once told me that that was the reason why all European music sounded out of tune to him. On the other hand, so far as my own ear is concerned, all Oriental music seems to be out of tune. The reason is not far to seek—a scale of 8 and a scale of 5 are incompatible, and a ear accustomed from birth to the one cannot easily appreciate the other. At the same time I recollect a Jemadar of the old 25th Bengal N.I., who was a natural musician and acted as bandmaster of the Regiment, coming to my house many years ago and borrowing an English song set for the piano and in a couple of days setting it to his own band which soon played it admirably.—R.C.T.]

Drums.

The *damru* or hour-glass drum (see Plate I, fig. 4) is a great favourite with the Pinglâs or fortune-tellers of the Marâthâ country.

Another drum made in the form of an hour-glass out of two skulls, cut across and set crown to crown, is used in Tibet. (See Plate I, fig. 5.)[6]

The *khanjirâ* is used by the Kânphâtiâs (see Plate I, fig. 6), a religious order, who sing and beg from door to door.

The *sambhel* (see Plate I, fig. 7) consists of two conical drums of earthenware beaten side by side, so as to make a double drum. It is used by the Gondhâlîs, when singing ballads.

The *d:ph* (see Plate I, fig. 8), a large cylinder with a narrow rim, and the *dhol* (see Plate I, fig. 8) are used by the Doms.

Stringed Instruments.

The *tutune* or *ek-târ*, so-called because it has only one string and no frets. It consists of a bamboo fastened to a hollow wooden cylinder (see Plate II, fig. 9). The lower end of the cylinder is closed by a piece of parchment with a hole in the centre, through which a string is passed and tied to a peg through the upper end to prevent it from slipping and to keep it in place. It is used by the Gondhâlîs, who in Bombay are wandering minstrels, and twanged from time to time as an accompaniment to heroic ballads. It is very popular in the Deccan and the Central Provinces.

The *kinâri* (see Plate II, fig. 10) is an instrument with two strings and a varying number of gourds, much used by wandering Kânphâtiâs, Wâghrîs and other minstrels.

The *chikârâ* is a variety of the *kinârî* with five strings.

The *râvanâstra* is a kind of fiddle (see Plate I, fig. 15) and is not of Indian origin. It is rarely met with, except in the hands of strolling musicians who support themselves by it. The original comes from Ceylon, as its Indian title *râvanâstra* tells us, signifying that it belongs to the land of Râvana.

In Ceylon it is called a *vinavah*, and there it has but two strings, one made out of a species of flax, and one out of horse-hair. The string of the bow, which has bells attached to it, is also made of horse-hair. The hollow part of the *vinavah* is made out of half a cocoanut-shell, polished and covered with a dried and perforated lizard skin[7] (see Plate II, fig. 15a).

Bells.

The *ghantâ* or small bell is used in every Hindu temple. Its antiquity in India is beyond doubt, as specimens have been discovered in cromlechs and cairns in different parts of India.[8]

A wooden bell is used by the nomad Banjârâs and by the Tôdas for tying round the necks of cattle (see Plate I, fig. 11a.)

Flutes.

The Indian flute, *muralî*, is still held in India to be peculiarly sacred, as the companion of Kṛishṇa in all his wanderings. In Indian mythology it is looked on with as much reverence as the lyre in ancient Greece. It is also still on occasions blown through the nostrils. In every sculpture and picture, where Kṛishṇa is represented as sitting, he is shown playing the *Muralî*.

Many years ago, when going through the Vatican, I was so struck with the resemblance of the figure of Kṛishṇa to that of Pan that I took away a sketch of the statuette of Pan. I found that the *tibia*, or flute, the commonest ancient musical instrument of the Greeks and Romans, consisted of a hollow reed perforated with holes at fixed places (see Plate II, fig. 12), and that it had been used all over India at a very ancient date. It is in India sometimes made of red sandal-wood bored with a gimlet. See Plate II, fig. 13b.

---

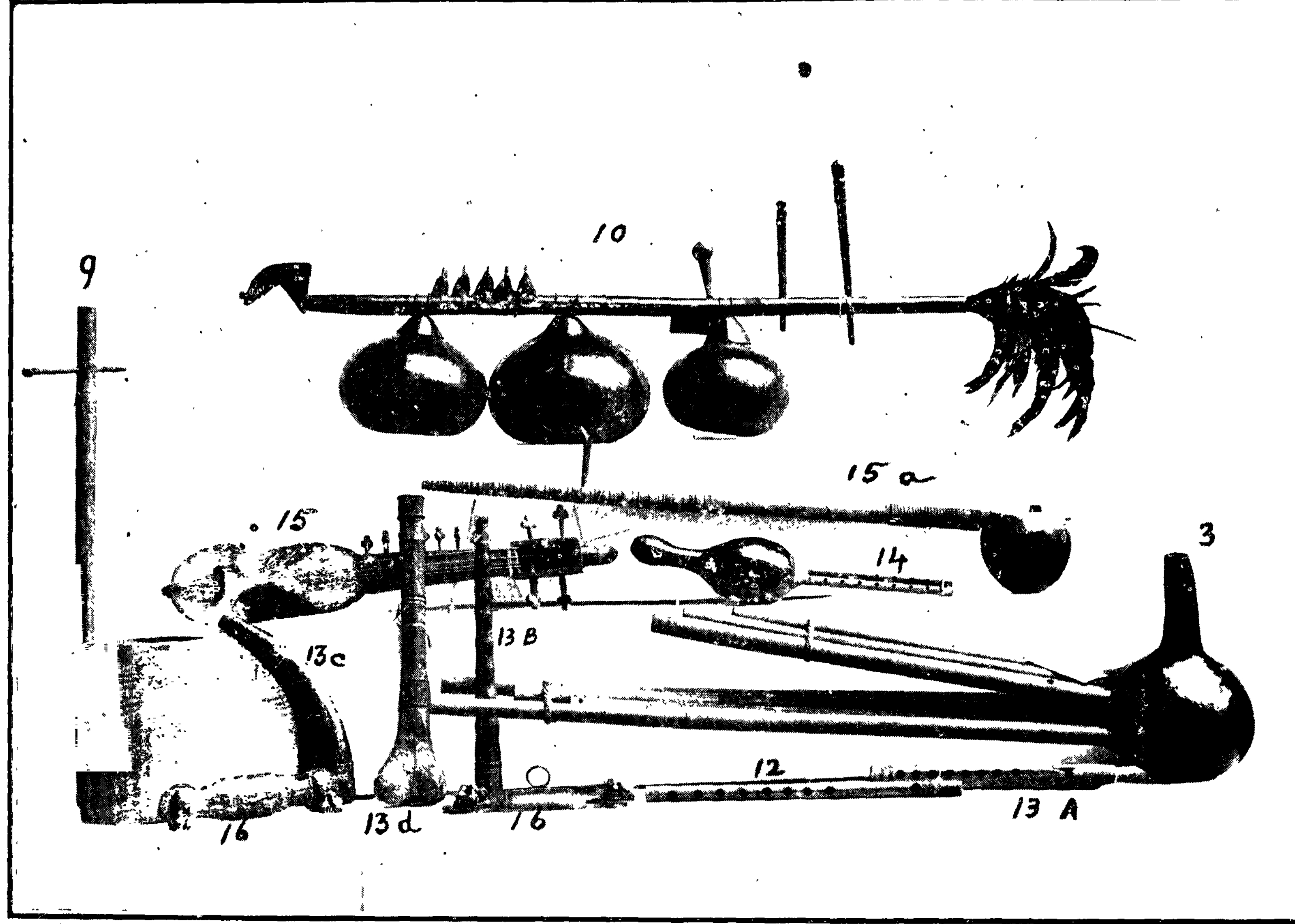
[6] [I once possessed a specimen, of which the sutures had never properly closed and were clearly marked right down the forehead.—R.C.T.]

[7] See J. Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and its Inhabitants*.

[8] H. T. Ellacombe, *Bells of the Church*, Exeter, 1872.



INDIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS



INDIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Pan was the reputed inventor of *his* flute, the *monaulos*, and so Kṛishṇa in India has always been accepted as the inventor of *his* flute, the *bâsarî*.

The *algûja* (Plate II, fig. 13a) is a bamboo flute of the same tone and compass as the *bâsarî*, and Day (*Music and Musical Instruments*, p. 49) says it is played in pairs in a somewhat similar manner as the *tibia* of the Romans, as pictured on a vase in the British Museum.

A flute made of a thigh-bone is also used in India (see Plate I, fig. 13d) [9].

Horns.

Pan is also drawn blowing a horn, and in India, too, the *śriṅga*, or horn (see Plate II, fig. 13c) is held to be of divine origin, and is mentioned in the earliest writings.[10]

Reed-pipes.

The *pungî* or *jinagori* is a reed-pipe used exclusively by jugglers or snake-charmers. The body and mouth-piece are formed out of a bottle-shaped gourd, into which are inserted two bamboo pipes, one of which is pierced with finger-holes, so that it can be played on, while the other is being sounded with the key-note as a drone. It is supposed to be specially pleasing to snakes. Meadows Taylor, *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy, vol. IX, pt. 1, relates a striking instance of its use: "One very large cobra, which frequented my garden at Ellichpur and of which every one was in dread, was caught by some professional snake-charmers in my own presence by means of the *pungî*. It was played at first very softly before the aloe bush under which the snake lived in a hole, and gradually the performer increased the tone and tune of his playing, and, as the snake showed his head, he retreated gently till it was fairly outside and erected itself in a defiant manner. At that moment another man stepped dexterously behind, and while the snake's attention was absorbed by the player, threw a heavy blanket upon it, seizing it by the head under the jaws. The head was then pinned down by a forked stick and the fangs and teeth extracted by strong pincers. The snake was then turned loose, completely cowed and exhausted. There was no doubt about the identity of the reptile, for a portion of its tail had been shot off in an attempt to destroy it" (see Plate II, fig. 14).

Castanets.

The *kartal* (Plate II, fig. 16) consists of a pair of castanets made of wood. They have special symbols on them.

Bird-Calls.

All the wild wandering tribes of India are good singers in their own way. They have acquired the art of modulating the voice by a now hereditary habit of imitating the calls of birds and wild animals. Some of them are bird catchers of repute. Among Jains and Buddhists there is always a great demand for birds, as their religion teaches them to be kind to animals. The wandering tribes turn this feeling to good account by catching birds and exposing them for sale before Jain and Buddhist Temples or in market-places frequented by these kindly people. When they see the captive wild things, they buy them and set them at liberty, to be caught again by the bird-taming and bird-catching wild man. A regular trade is thus kept going from year to year.

The wandering gypsy will amuse children by imitating the calls of wild animals, and while unwary children are taken up with the performance, a colleague of the performer will pilfer a few ornaments and even pick the pockets of grown-up spectators. The signal for the opportune moment is given in a jargon which no civilised man understands.

---

9 [However, the specimen that used to be in my possession came from Darjeeling and I understood that it was of Tibetan origin.—R.C.T.]

10 Day, *Music and Musical Instruments*, p. 104.

GURUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF VAGHARAJA.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

GURUR is a small village in the Drug district of the Central Provinces, nine miles from Dhamtarî, the terminus of the Raipur-Dhamtarî branch line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, and about 37 miles from Kânker, the head-quarters of the feudatory state of that name. Near an old temple, without any god enshrined in it, is a stone pillar in a field which bears a small inscription. While on tour in the Drug district I had occasion to see it personally and to take a copy from the original. The inscription is on two sides of the pillar, but the second side is so much rubbed that hardly any letters, are visible. The intelligible portion is on the first side, which contains twelve lines in bold letters, covering a space two feet six inches by one foot. The average size of the letters is two inches. The second side contains about seven lines with imprecatory figures of a pig followed by an ass, insinuating that the transgressor of the gift will be an issue of these animals in the next life.

The record is Sanskrit prose in Nâgarî characters of about the eleventh century A.D., declaring a gift of land to the gods Umânâtha (Śiva) and Kâla Bhairava by Nâyaka Âditya, during the reign of the illustrious Râṇaka Vâgharâja of the Somavaṁśa (Lunar race) of Kâkaraya. Apparently a temple was erected in honour of these two gods and land was granted to support them.

We know Vâgharâja from the Kânker[1] inscription of Bhânudeva and the Sihâva[2] inscription of Karṇarâja as one of the ancestors of the Somavaṁśi kings of Kânker, a name which was known as Kâkaira or Kâkaraya in ancient times. The Kâṅker inscription shows that the Nâyakas were an influential family, and some of them were ministers of the Kânker kings, though originally they were elephant catchers. In that inscription four generations of the Nâyakas are given, but these cannot carry us to the times of Vâgharâja, in whose reign Nâyaka Âditya was apparently the minister. It is noteworthy, too, that the early kings of Kânker were known as Râṇaka; now they are known as Mahârâjâdhirâja, a title given by the British Government.

The inscription gives no new information, beyond confirming the tradition that the Dhamtarî *tahsîl* was included in the Kânker chiefship as early as the eleventh century A.D., by the fact that Gurur, only recently transferred from Dhamtarî *tahsîl* to the Drug district, was certainly under the rule of the Kânker kings.

Text.

First Side.

1. Svasti Kâka[ra]ya
2. parama-mâhêsva-[3]
3. ra soma-ku-
4. la-tilaka râṇa
5. ka Śri Vâgharâ[ja]
6. [r]âjê[4] nâyaka Śrî
7. Âdityeva deva Śrî
8. [U]mâ nâtha Śrî Kâla[Bhai]
9. [rava]yoḥ bhumi pra[da]
10. [ttâ] yo[atra] râjâ bhavi [shya]
11. [ti] tasy-âhaṁ krita talena.
12. . . . bhûmi talopayata .

Second Side.

13. . . . deva bhûmi yaḥ
14. . . . lopayati tasyâ
15. . . . . puru
16. . . . .

1 See *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, p. 123.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
3 Read *mahêśvara*.
4 Read *râjye.*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CAREER OF GURU HARGOVIND.

BY INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE, M.A., P.R.S,

I. The Chronology of Hargovind.

GURU Arjan's death occurred in the month of Jeth, Sambat 1663 (June 1606) [1], and he was immediately succeeded by Hargovind, who was eleven years of age at that time, having been born in 1595 A.D.[2] Mohsun Fani says that Arjan was followed by his brother Baratha. But Arjan's son, Hargovind, also made pretentions to the Khalifat (deputyship) and obtained the place of his father.[3] Baratha is evidently a corruption of Prithia, the eldest brother of Guru Arjan, and this is clearly proved by Mohsun Fani's identification of the followers of Prithia with the Mainas, *i.e.*, the Minas.[4] Ever since his supersession Prithia had been the most unrelenting enemy of Guru Arjan and it is not at all improbable that he would raise troubles after his brother's death. But the Sikh accounts unanimously state that Guru Hargovind immediately succeeded his father, and we have it in Macauliffe that Prithia had died just at the critical moment when his plots against Guru Arjan were about to bear fruit.[5] Captain Troyer, the translator of the *Dabistan*, states, "there appears a hiatus or some confusion in our text; so much however is indicated clearly enough, that there was a contest about the succession between the son and brother of Arjanmal."[6] It seems that Prithia or his "worthy" son Mihrban raised some troubles about the succession, but Hargovind proved too strong for them.

Difficulties arise when we come to the details of Guru Hargovind's career. It becomes almost impossible to reconcile the Sikh accounts with contemporary Muhammadan history. Hargovind's career may conveniently be divided into three distinct periods. The first period is synchronous with the reign of Jahangir and ends with the latter's death in October 1627. The second period witnesses Hargovind's quarrels with the Moghul authorities and embraces, perhaps, the first six or seven years of the reign of Shah Jahan. The last is the period of Hargovind's retirement in the hills, which ended in 1645 when he died. This broad outline may easily be accepted, but, when we enter into details, we find to our disappointment that the accepted chronology is by no means so satisfactory.

Now, the most important thing that happened during the first period of Hargovind's life was his imprisonment by the orders of the emperor Jahangir. In the *Dabistan* we read that the emperor Jahangir imprisoned Guru Hargovind in the fort of Gwalior, where he had to remain a prisoner on scanty food[7] for twelve years. Mohsun Fani and the Sikh chroniclers are, however, unanimous on the point that both the imprisonment and release of Hargovind took place during the reign of Jahangir, the difference being only with regard to the period of imprisonment. The Sikhs try to make it only forty days,[8] whereas Mohsun Fani explicitly states that the Guru was imprisoned for twelve years. In the face of the clear testimony of Mohsun Fani who was a contemporary and a personal friend of Hargovind, the Sikh chroniclers, who are all much later, may perhaps be safely dismissed. But still we would give them a close attention.

---

1 Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. III, p. 100; *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, p. 118; *Panth Prakash*; *Sikkhan de rajdi Bikhia*, p. 23. As will presently appear, it is often absolutely unsafe to follow the Sikh chronicles with regard to dates. But in this particular instance they seem to be right. Khusru fled from his semi-confinement at Agra on April 6, 1606 and his rebellion was finally quelled by the 1st of May. As the "barbarous" punishment of the adherents of Khusru, among whom Guru Arjan must be counted, commenced immediately afterwards, it does not seem improbable that Arjan died in June, 1606. (See Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, pp. 138-150.)

2 Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. III, p. 35.

3 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 273.

4 *Ibid*. See also Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. II, p. 284.

5 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 89.

6 *Dabistan*.

7 The Sikh accounts also seem to admit this indirectly. "The Guru took hardly any food—his rations he distributed among the needy prisoners."—Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 23.

8 The *Itihas Guru Khalsa* (p. 125, fourth edition, published by Labh Singh and Sons) and the *Panth Prakash* (p. 103, Punjab Commerical Press edition) state that it lasted more than two months.

Let us take Macauliffe's account, which is based on Bhai Santokh Singh's *Suraj Prakash*, the *Gur Bilas*, and the *Itihas Guru Khalsa.*[9] It is stated that Hargovind's first important act was to gather the nucleus of an army. In the very beginning of his pontificate he is reported to have told Bhai Budha, "my endeavour shall be to fulfil thy prophecy. My *seli* shall be a sword-belt, and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette."[10] The Guru soon acquired an army about 500 strong, and he is said to have systematically turned his attention to the chase and other warlike occupations.[11] In this manner the Guru continued for six years when, in 1612, the emperor summoned him to Delhi. Chandu Shah, the Dewan of Lahore, who had been mainly instrumental in bringing about the arrest and execution of Guru Arjan, had again come forward with the proposal of marrying his daughter to Hargovind soon after the latter's accession to the *gaddi* of his father. Hargovind bluntly refused the offer. This enraged Chandu beyond measure and he began his plots again. He poisoned the ears of the emperor against Hargovind, who, he represented, was fast collecting an army in order to take revenge upon the emperor for the execution of his father. Thereupon the Emperor called Hargovind to Delhi. Various stories are narrated as to how the Guru lived with the emperor for some time, apparently on friendly terms, and how the emperor ever remained unconvinced of the Guru's innocence. About this time the emperor had a every severe illness at Agra, and sought the advice of an astrologer to decide what would be the auspicious time for him to sit on his throne after his recovery. Chandu bribed the astrologer, who informed the emperor that a severe calamity was hanging over him, and that he could escape it only if some holy man were sent to the Fort of Gwalior to do penance there. Again, at the instigation of Chandu, the emperor's advisers all unanimously agreed that Hargovind was just the holy man wanted, and as a result the Guru was sent to the Fort of Gwalior. Macauliffe does not state how long the Guru remained in Gwalior, but it appears that after some time the emperor ordered his release, chiefly through the intercession of Wazir Khan. The Guru returned to Delhi and soon succeeded in convincing the emperor of Chandu's perfidy. Jahangir handed over Chandu to Hargovind, telling him to punish him as he pleased. The emperor was at this time extremely unwell and his physicians advised a change of air. He decided to spend the summer in Kashmir and asked the Guru to accompany him. The Guru complied and they started for Kashmir together. On their way they halted at Goindwal, Tarn Taran, and Amritsar. The Guru remained at Amritsar for a few days and ultimately joined the emperor at Lahore.

This is the Sikh account of the imprisonment and release of Hargovind. It will appear that much of it is fable rather than history, and that, obviously, the Sikhs try to hide the real causes of Guru Hargovind's imprisonment. The period of Hargovind's confinement is nowhere clearly mentioned. Macauliffe merely states that when the Guru's mother saw that he did not return in time, she became very anxious, and Bhai Jetha went on a mission to Delhi to secure the Guru's release. "He succeeded in soothing the emperor, who had been troubled with fearful visions,"[12] and as a reward, Jahangir, who had already been favourably inclined towards the Guru through the pleadings of Wazir Khan, ordered Hargovind's release. However, the Guru could not have remained imprisoned very long, for he married Nanaki after his return from Delhi, and Nanaki's first child was born in 1618..[13] The Guru could not marry Nanaki immediately after his release, as his tour with the emperor took some time. Even if we suppose that Nanaki conceived immediately after her marriage, about two years must have elapsed between the Guru's release and the birth of Ani Rai. This would place the Guru's release about 1616. As he had been called to Delhi in 1612, he could not have remained in prison for more than four years. The *Panth Prakash*[14] and the *Itihas*

9 Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion,* vol. IV, p. 1, note.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

14 P. 101.

Guru Khalsa,[15] however, state that the Guru was called to Delhi in 1616, and as they suggest that the Guru's confinement lasted for only two months, perhaps the Guru was also released in the very same year. But it is impossible to reconcile these accounts with contemporary Muhammadan history. Jahangir left Agra in the autumn of 1613 and established his court and camp at Ajmer, in order to be in closer touch with the military operations that were then going on against Mewar.[16] He left Ajmer on the 10th of November, 1616, and entered Mandu on March 6th, 1617.[17] Then Jahangir started on a tour in Gujarat and returned to Agra in the middle of April, 1619, after an absence of five years and a half.[18] It was about this time that Jahangir's health broke down. His physicians advised a change of air, and his annual visits to Kashmir began, his first sojourn of seven months taking place in 1620 (March to October).[19] The Sikh records unanimously say that immediately after his release, Guru Hargovind accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir. A very severe illness of the emperor is also referred to. All these tend to place the Guru's release in 1619 or the beginning of 1620. A careful study of the Sikh records makes it clear, in more ways than one, that the Guru accompanied the emperor to Kashmir about this time. The Sikhs state that, being ill-treated by her father, Kaulan, the daughter of the Kazi of Lahore, besought the protection of the Guru. Kaulan's preceptor, the celebrated saint Mian Mir, also interceded with the Guru in her behalf. Hargovind accordingly gave her asylum and removed her to Amritsar, where, after some days, the famous tank, Kaulasar, was excavated in her memory. The date of the excavation of the tank is given as 1621.[20] As Kaulan came under the protection of the Guru at the time when he came to Lahore in the emperor's camp, it seems that he accompanied the emperor at the time of his first sojourn, and as the Guru set out with the emperor immediately after his release, his release could not have taken place earlier than 1619.

This would make Hargovind's period of imprisonment extend to about seven years, as, according to Macauliffe, he had been summoned to Delhi in 1612. Mohsun Fani, however, clearly states that the Guru was kept in prison for twelve years. Leaving aside, for the present, the incontestable nature of the evidence of Mohsun Fani, let us see whether the Sikh records themselves lend any support to his statement. We have already said that Hargovind's marriage with Nanaki took place after his return to Amritsar. It is said, however, that this Nanaki had been betrothed to Hargovind, when his father, Guru Arjan, was still living.[21] The reasons given for the postponement of the marriage are the extreme youth of Nanaki and the Guru's absence in Delhi, Agra, Lahore and other places.[22] But if Hargovind had been imprisoned in 1612, he had clear six years during which he might have celebrated his marriage with Nanaki. The question of youth may safely be disregarded, as the Sikh records abound in instances of very early girl marriages. The inevitable conclusion must be that after his accession Hargovind had very little time to think of his marriage. He was put into prison about 1607, perhaps a year after his accession to the *gaddi* of his father, his release taking place in 1619, and the period of his imprisonment being twelve years.

Now, let us consider the causes of Guru Hargovind's imprisonment and see whether they throw any light on the question at issue. Both Cunningham [23] and Narang[24] say that the reasons for Guru Hargovind's incarceration were his over-independent character, his breaking of forest-laws owing to his great passion for hunting, and his appropriating to his own use the money he should have disbursed to the troops. The fine imposed on Arjan, moreover, had never been paid; and all these causes combined to induce the emperor to send Hargovind as a prisoner to the Fort of Gwalior. The main authority for this view is Capt.

15 P. 129.
16 Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, p. 237.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 277.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 300.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 319.
20 Macauliffe, *the Sikh Religion*, vol. IV, p. 48.
21 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 77.
22 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 50.
23 *History of the Sikhs*, Garret's edition, p. 57.
24 *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 41.

Troyer's translation of the *Dabistan*. There we read "He (Hargovind) became involved in many difficulties ; one of them was that he appropriated to himself the pay due to the soldiers in advance ; he carried also the sword against his father ; he kept besides many servants and was addicted to hunting. Jahangir, on account of the money due to the army, and of the mulct imposed upon Arjan Mal, sent Hargovind to the fort of Gwalior, where he remained imprisoned for twelve years."[25] This passage seems to show conclusively that the conclusion we arrived at cannot be correct, because Hargovind could not have misappropriated the money due to the soldiers, unless he had already been in the service of the emperor. Macauliffe, however, says that Troyer's translation is thoroughly wrong and that the passage in question should be rendered thus :—"He had many difficulties to contend with ; one of them was that he adopted the style of a soldier, wore a sword contrary to the custom of his father, maintained a retinue, and began to follow the chase. The emperor in order to extort from him the balance of the fine which had been imposed on Arjan Mal, sent him to Gwalior." The learned author adds, "we might suppose that Troyer had translated from a different text, and that the *Dabistan* has since his time been altered at somebody's instigation, if some of the blunders of Troyer's translation were not so very palpable."[26] The statement that Hargovind carried the sword against his father is "not only opposed to the verbal and grammatical interpretation of the (Persian) passage, but it is also opposed to the whole tenor of the accounts of both Arjan and Hargovind given in the *Dabistan* itself." It does not seem, therefore, that Troyer had translated from a different text. However, Dr. Narang, who, as he informs us,[27] consults the Bombay edition of the *Dabistan*, repeats Troyer's statement that Hargovind misappropriated the money granted by the emperor for his troops and appends a note that "the emperor could not understand the nature of the Guru's following. His troops were mostly volunteers and fought not for pay, but out of devotion and obedience."[28] We have not been able to consult the original, but it is significant to note that Prof. Sarkar, who also uses the Bombay text,[29] makes no mention of Hargovind's misappropriation of the money due to soldiers, though he states that the Guru was sent to Gwalior to make him pay the balance of the fine imposed upon his father.[30] We are inclined to think that Narang committed the same mistake as Troyer, or had been misled by him. Moreover, if we accept Troyer's statement, chronological difficulties at once arise. In fact, Dr. Narang has involved himself in inconsistencies. He accepts Mohsun Fani's statement that Hargovind remained in prison for twelve years.[31] We have seen that the Guru's journey to Kashmir with the Emperor could not have taken place earlier than 1620. This date also Dr. Narang accepts.[32] But he, at the same time, says that the Guru was imprisoned after 1620. This is, however, clearly impossible. Mohsun Fani and the various Sikh records are all unanimous that both the imprisonment and release of Hargovind took place during the reign of Jahangir. Therefore, the Guru could not have been imprisoned after 1620 ; for Jahangir died in 1627 and the Guru remained in prison for twelve years. Again, Mohsun Fani states that Hargovind was "always attached to the stirrup of the victorious Jahangir", and on the latter's death in 1627 he entered the service of his son and successor, Shah Jahan.[33] The latter statement makes it clear that Hargovind had been in the employ of the emperor Jahangir and on his death automatically entered the service of his successor. Cunningham, we think, is therefore right when he says, "On the death of Jahangir in 1628, Hargovind *continued* in the employ of the

25 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 274.

26 Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. IV, pp. 21, 22.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

28 Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 41, f.n. 3.

29 Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, vol. III, p. 304, f.n.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 309. We do not however understand why Prof. Sarkar allows the calumny to stand in Irvine's *Later Mughals*, p. 77.

31 Narang, *Ibid.*, p. 42, f.n. 3.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

33 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 274.

Mahomedan Government."[34] Hargovind, necessarily, was not a prisoner in 1627. Further, Dr. Narang apparently accepts 1628 as the date of Hargovind's first battle against the Moghul Government,[35] though according to his own statement he must have been in prison at that time. Evidently, we must place Hargovind's imprisonment prior to 1620.

Nevertheless, the question remains as to whether the circumstances alluded to in the statement of Mohsun Fani existed in the year 1607, for otherwise we shall have to find a different date. A little discussion will, however, satisfy us that the conditions, alluded to by Mohsun Fani, were existent from the very beginning of Hargovind's pontificate. We have already seen that immediately after his accession Hargovind adopted the style of a soldier and systematically turned his attention to the chase. He soon collected the nucleus of an army around himself, and his proclamation to the *masands* solved the difficulty about procuring ammunitions and horses.[36] We know that the fine imposed on Arjan had never been paid; and thus all the reasons given by Moshun Fani for Hargovind's incarceration were there in 1607. If we read the *Dabistan* on this particular point together with the details given in the Sikh records, we may perhaps guess the truth. As we have seen, the Sikh chroniclers point out that Chandu's enmity and Mihrban's resentment were the main causes that led to Hargovind's incarceration. Hargovind's war-like habits and preparations gave the desired opportunity to his enemies, and the fine imposed upon Arjan gave the emperor the pretext for imprisoning his son. It appears clearly that the emperor was acted upon by others. The emperor's own remarks in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* make it clear that even in the more serious matter of Guru Arjan's execution he had been goaded into action by others,[37] and it is not at all improbable that these very same men now procured Hargovind's imprisonment.[38] This would also seem to suggest, as the Sikh chroniclers almost unanimously state, that the plots against Hargovind commenced immediately after his accession. On his way to Kabul and back Jahangir had twice halted at Lahore for some days in 1607 and the beginning of 1608, and it may well be that it was at this time that Hargovind's enemies procured the emperor's audience and made their representations against the young Guru. The fact that the fine imposed upon Arjan was made the main pretext for sending Hargovind to Gwalior also points to the same conclusion. All available facts thus tend to suggest that Hargovind was imprisoned about 1607 and released in 1619. It was then that he entered the service of the emperor, and after his death continued in the employ of his successor Shah Jahan.[39]

This brings us to the second period of Guru Hargovind's career. A study of the Sikh records make it clear that hostilities with the Muhammadan Government broke out almost immediately after the accession of Shah Jahan. It is apparent that, slender as his resources undoubtedly were, the Guru's struggles with the Government of the great Shah Jahan could not last long. The evidence of Mohsun Fani also shows that the Guru was gradually driven from pillar to post, till at last he found safety in the hills. The details will appear more clearly in the next section, but it seems that there is not much difficulty in accepting Macauliffe's statement that Hargovind's last battle with the Mughals was fought in 1634.[40]

34 Cunningham, *ibid.*, p. 57; Cunningham gives 1628 as the year of Jahangir's death, but this is clearly a mistake. Jahangir died on October 28th, 1627; see Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, p. 43.

35 Narang, *ibid.*, p. 57, f.n. 3.

36 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 3.

37 Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, p. 150, f. n.

38 Chandu is unanimously regarded as a common factor.

39 It may possibly be urged against this view that in 1607 the Guru was too young to be taken seriously and imprisoned. But instances of the kind are not rare in Mughal history. Moreover, it appears that the personal issue was unimportant. The object of the emperor seems to have been to keep the young Guru as a hostage to ensure the orderliness of his followers and possibly also to realise the fine imposed on his father. We are also not unaware that under the present view certain difficulties arise about the dates of Hargovind's children and grandchildren. But if we accept the statement of the *Dabistan* that the Guru was imprisoned for twelve years, the above conclusion, I think, fits in very well with the facts in hand.

40 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 212.

We have not much to say about the last period when Hargovind lived in peace at Kiratpur, a mountain retreat "dependent upon the Raja Tarachand, who had never paid homage to the Badshah Shah Jahan."

But one point demands brief notice. Some Sikh records state that Hargovind died in 1638.[41] Cunningham says "the manuscript accounts consulted place the Guru's death variously in A.D. 1637, 1638 and 1639; but they lean to the middle term."[42] And on the authority of these records Dr. Trumpp gives 1638 as the year of Hargovind's death and suggests that there must be some mistake in the Arabic ciphers of the *Dabistan*, which places the Guru's death in February 1645.[43] We are unable to accept Trumpp's suggestion, because Mohsun Fani is not alone in stating that Hargovind died in 1645. He is corroborated by the *Panth Prakash*, the *Itihas Guru Khalsa* and Macauliffe.[44] One of the manuscripts discovered at Dacca by Mr. Gurbaksh Singh also clearly proves that Dr. Trumpp's surmise cannot be correct.[45] Mohsun Fani further states that he had himself seen the Guru in 1643.[46] Verily, therefore, we must accept 1645 as the date of Guru Hargovind's death.[47]

(*To be continued.*)

BUDDERMOKAN.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page 30.*)

II.

Badaru'ddîn Auliâ of Chittagong.

Let us now examine the evidence as to Badaru'ddîn Auliâ. I found nothing about the great Chittagong saint in Vol. VI, Chittagong, of the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, nor could I get any information in correspondence with the local authorities. The official *List of Ancient Monuments* in Bengal, 1895, pp. 228–231, relates to the antiquities of the Chittagong Division, but there is not a word about Badaru'ddîn's tomb in it. We can, however, guess at its locality, from a brief entry as to the Mosque of Muhammad Yâsîn, which is referred to in Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 1881. The entry runs as follows: District, Chittagong: locality; Rahmatganj: Thânâ; Town Station: Name of Monument; Kadam Mobârak Mosque: History or Tradition regarding the Monument; the Kadam Mobârak Mosque was built by Nawâb Muhammad Eyâsîn Khân at Rasûlnagar in Chittagong town in the year 1136 Hijrî, corresponding to 1719 A.D. [1136 A.H., however, commenced on 20th Sept. 1723]: Custody or present use: in use and looked after by Maulavî 'Abdu's-Sobhân, the present *mutawallî*: Present state of preservation and suggestion for conservation; good."

In reference to the above remarks, Beale, in the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 1881, has an entry "Pîr Badar" at p. 216, which explains the above quotation. Pîr Badar, or simply Badar, is the great saint of the Chittagonians, Badaru'ddîn Auliâ or Badar Ṣâḥib, known under the various corruptions already given, which are merely variants of his title of the ordinary sort.

Beale says of this saint: "Pîr Badar, a celebrated Musalmân saint, whose tomb is at Chitagun in Bengal and is evidently of great antiquity. There is a stone scraped into furrows, on which, it is said, Pîr Badar used to sit. There is also another bearing an inscription, which from exposure to the weather, and having on it numerous coats of whitewash, is illegible. There is a mosque near the tomb with a slab of granite, bearing an illegible inscription, apparently from the *Kurân*. At a short distance is the *masjid* of Muhammad Yâsîn, with an inscription conveying the year of the Hijrî 1136 (1724 A.D.)."

41 *Sikham de raj di Bikhia* for instance. See Court's Translation, p. 27.

42 Cunningham, *ibid.*, p. 59, f.n. 2.

43 Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, p. lxxxiv, f.n. 3.

44 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 239. The author, however, quoted the *Dabistan* as his authority.

45 *Dacca Review*, 1916, p. 378.

46 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 281.

47 Both Malcolm and Forster give 1644 as the date of Hargovind's death but "obviously from regarding 1701 Sambat (which Malcolm also quotes) as identical throughout, instead of for about the first nine months only, with A.D. 1644."

In 1894, Beames wrote in *JRAS.*, p. 838 f., as follows : " Pîr Badar . . . . This saint is well known all over Bengal and Upper India. His full name is Badru'ddîn [*i.e.*, 'full moon of the Faith ']. He is also called Badar-i-'Alam [or 'full moon of the world ']. Born at Meerut in the North-West Provinces, he led the wandering life of a *faqîr* and was probably attracted to Bengal by the outburst of Muslim propagandism under the renegade Hindu king Jalâlu'ddîn [1414–1430]. He lived for a long time at Chatgânw [Chittagong], where a *dargah* or shrine is still one of the most conspicuous and venerated places of pilgrimage in the district. With the usual tolerance or superstition, or whatever the sentiment may be called, so prevalent in Bengal, Hindus and Musalmans alike worship at his shrine. Even Maghs, who are, if anything, Buddhists, pay their vows to him. He is said to have left Chittagong shortly before his death, and settled in Bihâr, where he died in A.H. 844, or A.D. 1440.

" How the idea of his dominion over rivers and the sea arose it is difficult to determine. . . . . The primitive nature worship of the Non-Aryan aborigines of India, with its local *daimonia* and tutelary spirits, has survived the introduction, first of Hinduism and subsequently of Islam, and the numerous *pîrs* or saints, whom Hindu and Musalmân alike reverence, are in all probability only the old animistic spirits transformed. One great step in this process of transformation was to appropriate the name of some Musalmân saint of great local celebrity, around whose name there would soon grow up a mass of wild legends, varying in different districts. A spirit who ruled the waters and controlled the storms was a natural and inevitable member of the animistic Pantheon of a land of seas and rivers. In Eastern Bengal we have not only Pîr Badar, but Zindâ Ghâzî, Gâzî Mîyân, and the Panch Pîr [the Five Saints], and many others wielding similar powers."

In view of these last remarks it is just possible that the Northern Hindus assimilated Pîr Badar with the Flood from the likeness of his name to their term for the Clouds, Badal. See Crooke, *s.v.*, in his *Rural and Agricultural Glossary for the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh*, 1888.

Later on it will be seen that the Syrians of Al-Bîrûnî's time (973–1048 A.D.) had a festival called the Feast of Mount Tabor, in reference to a legend of the disappearance of Moses and Elias, with which last Khwâja Khizar, identified with Badaru'ddîn, is also identified with two of three clouds : see Sachau's Translation of Al-Bîrûnî's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, p. 269.

Next, Gait, in the *Census Report*, Bengal, 1901, pt. I, page 178, gives the following information :

" Pîr Badar of Chittagong is the guardian saint of sailors. He is invoked by the boating classes, Hindu as well as Muhammadan, when they start on a journey by sea or river as follows :

Amara âchchî polâpân
Gâjî achchê nikhâmân,
Shirê Gangâ dariyâ Pânch Pîr,
Badar, Badar, Badar.

Which may be translated thus :—' We are but children, the Ghâzî is our Protector, the Ganges river is on our head. Oh Five Saints, Oh Badar, Badar, Badar '.

"This Pîr, who is said to have arrived at Chittagong, floating upon a stone slab, is mentioned by Dr. Wise, according to whom he is no other than one Badru'ddîn, who was for many years a resident of Chittagong, died in 1440, and was buried in the Chhotâ Dargâh of Bihâr. The local story of his arrival is that Chittagong was at the time the abode of fairies and hobgoblins, and that no one could live there. The saint begged a space for his lamp. This was granted and when he lit it, its magic power was so great that the spirits were frightened away. An old Portuguese resident of Chittagong who died recently [in 1901], used to aver that the

saint was a Portuguese sailor, the only survivor from a shipwreck, who floated ashore on a raft and became a Muhammadan. There is a hillock in front of the Commissioner's house, which is reputed to be the place where Pîr Badar lit his lamp and here candles are burnt nightly, the cost being met by contributions from Hindus, and even Feringis [Europeans or Native Christians], as well as from Muhammadans." To this information is added a foot-note : "Mr. R. C. Hamilton is disposed to identify Pîr Badar with Khwâja Khizr. 'Badar' in Chittagong is a religious exclamation used to invoke a blessing. This identification, he says, explains why the name of Khwâja Khizr is not locally known."

From *JASB.* (1873) pt. I, p. 302-3, I gather the following information :

"*The Fîrûz Shâh Inscription in the Chhoṭâ Dargâh*, A.H. 961 [1544 A.D.].

"The Chhoṭâ Dargâh of Bihâr is the shrine of Badru'ddîn Badr-i-'Alam. This *faqîr* came from Mîrath, is said to have spent a long time at Châtgâon, and settled at last in Bihâr, where he died in 844 A.H., or 1440 A.D., the *tarîkh* of his death being, 'he joined the glory of the Lord.' It is said that the famous Sharafu'ddîn Munyârî had invited him, but Badr delayed in Châtgâon, and only arrived in Bihâr forty days after Sharafu'ddîn's death.

"The slab stands in the northern enclosure, and contains the name of the Bengal Fîrûz Shâh on one side and that of the Diḥlî Fîrûz Shâh on the other . . . . The slab is now considered an infallible cure for evil spirits of all sorts."

In support of the above statement Dr. James Wise in his rare book *Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of Eastern Bengal*, makes the following remark :

"Besides Kwâjah Khizr, Bengal supplies other animistic ideas regarding water, and Pîr Badr shares with him the dominion of the rivers. This spirit is invoked by every sailor and fisherman, when starting on a cruise, or when overtaken by a squall or a storm. All Muhammadans agree that he resided at Chittagong, but his history does not disclose the reason why the attributes of a water-demon were conferred on him. According to one account he was a ship-wrecked Portuguese sailor, named "Pas Gual Peeris Botheilo," who reached the shore by clinging to a piece of wreck. The guardians of his shrine, however, say that about a hundred and fifty years ago [1670 A.D.], Pîr Badr arrived at Chittagong 'floating on a rock' and informed the terror-stricken inhabitants that he had come all the way from Akyab on this novel craft. The neighbourhood of Chittagong being then infested by Jins or evil spirits, he exterminated them, and took possession of the whole country. The modern Dargâh, or cenotaph, of Pîr Badr stands in the centre of Chittagong, and is regarded as the palladium of the city. *Faqîrs* are the custodians, and the mosque with its rooms for pilgrims is kept scrupulously clean. On the walls of the cenotaph are ten niches for ten oil-lamps, which are lighted every evening and burn all night. Pilgrims from all parts of Bengal visit the Dargâh in fulfilment of vows or to obtain the favour and intercession of the saint, while Hindu fishermen regard him with as much awe as Muhammadans. His *Urs* or festival is celebrated annually on the twenty-ninth of Ramzân, the anniversary of his death. There can, however, be little doubt that Pîr Badr is no other than Badru'ddîn Badr-i-'Alam, for many years a resident of Chittagong, who died A.H. 844 (1440), and was buried in the Chhotâ Dargâh of Bihâr, but about whom we possess no further particulars (*JASB.*, pt. I, No. 3, 1873)."

Further, Risley, *s.v.* Tiyar, in *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1892, vol. II, p. 330 has the following entry :

"As was natural, the Tiyars have peopled the waters and streams with beneficent and wicked spirits, whose friendship is to be secured, and enmity averted, by various religious rites. Along the banks of the river Lakhya they worship Pîr Badr, Khwâjah Khizr, and, in fulfilment of vows, offer through any Musalmân a goat to Madâr, whom they regard as a water god, but who may be identified with Shâh Madâr Badi'uddîn, who is not, of course, Badru'ddin Auliâ, but another famous saint."

In 1894 Mr. Beveridge also communicated a note (*JRAS.*, p. 480) saying that "under the heading Panch Pîr, Dr. Wise quotes [*Notes on the Races of Eastern Bengal*, 1873, p. 17] the song which the Muhammadan boatmen sing on the Ganges, and which ends with the words : *Sar-i-Gangâ, Pânch Pîr, Badr, Badr, Badr.*" Here we seem to have the origin of the women's custom, quoted by Dr. Anderson of dropping coppers into the water on a river journey with the words : "*Darya ke pânch paisê, Badhar, Badhar,*" where the Five Saints (Pânch Pîr), have become "five pence" (*pânch paisê*), the Musalmân's Pânch Pîr being no doubt due to the old and famous Pancha Dêva, the Five Gods, of the Hindu domestic ritual of purely Indian descent.[2]

The next quotation from Crooke, *Popular Religion of Northern India*, 1894, pp. 20 f., definitely connects Pîr Badar with Khwâja Khizr, as God of the Flood. "The Hindus have a special God of Water, Khwâja Khizr, whose Muhammadan title has been Hinduised into Râjâ Kidâr, or as he is called in Bengal, Kawâj or Pîr Bhadr. This is a good instance of the fact that Hindus are always ready to annex deities and beliefs of other races. According to the *Sikandarnâma* [*c.* 1200 A.D.] Khwâja Khizr was a saint of Islâm, who presided over the Well of Immortality, and directed Alexander of Macedon in his search for the Blessed Waters. The fish is his vehicle and hence its image is painted over the doors of both Hindus and Muhammadans, while it became the family crest of the late Royal house of Oudh. Among the Muhammadans a prayer is said to Khwâja Khizr at the first shaving of a boy. At marriages a little boat is launched on a river or tank in his honour . . . . The patron deity of boatmen, who is invoked by them to prevent their boats from being broken or submerged, or to show them the way when they have lost it. All through the Eastern Panjab he is entrusted with the safety of travellers. He is worshipped by burning lamps, feeding Brahmans, and by setting afloat on a village pond a little raft of grass with a lighted lamp placed on it."

We have thus arrived at the point that the cult of the Indian Fifteenth-century saint, Badru'ddin Auliâ, is connected closely with the worship of Khwâja Khizr, as the God of the Flood.

There is also a definite cult of Khwâja Khizr in Bengal. Gait, *Census Report*, Bengal, 1901, tells us about it as follows, vol. I, p. 179 : "Closely allied to the adoration of Pîrs is the homage paid to certain mythical persons, amongst whom Khwâja Khizr stands pre-eminent. This personage appears to have been a pre-Islamic hero of the Arabs and some say he was a prophet of *paighambar* born a thousand years before Muhammad. He is said by many to be the 'servant of God' mentioned in the *Korân*, whom Moses found by following in the track of a fried fish which miraculously came to life, and rebuked Moses on several occasions for his undue curiosity. However this may be, Khwâja Khizr is believed at the present day to reside in the seas and rivers of India, and to protect mariners from shipwreck. His special connection with water is due to his having wandered all over the waters of the world in search of the water of everlasting life. He is invoked by mariners, and is also propitiated by the more ignorant Muhammadans, at marriages and during the rainy season, by the launching in rivers and tanks of *berâs* or small paper boats, decorated with flowers and lit up with candles. Food is also distributed to the destitute in his name, or left on the bank to be picked up by the first beggar who passes."

The *Census Report* then goes on to state :—"The Hindus of Upper India call Khwâja Khizr, Râjâ Kidar, which clearly connects him with Al-Khidr, who, according to Sale Surâ Kalif, chapter XVIII, is also identified with the same 'servant of God.' He is often confounded with Phineas, Elias and St. George, and his soul is supposed to have passed through them all by metempsychosis. He is supposed to have become immortal by finding out, and drinking of, the Water of Life. The name Khizr or 'Ever-green' was given him because every spot he sat on became covered with green grass. Part of these fictions were taken from

[2] See Temple, *Word of Lalla, the Prophetess*, p. 70.

the Jews who fancy Phineas was Elias. (Sale's *Koran*, vol. II, page 121.) According to Dr. Wise, Al Khidr is no other than Alexander the Great, but this seems incorrect. There is a legend that Alexander the Great wanted to drink the water of Everlasting Life and was conducted to the spring by Khwâja Khiẓr, but finding it surrounded by a crowd of decrepit old men, who, though still alive, could not stir, he was disgusted at the sight and returned to the upper world without tasting the water.

Finally Wise, in his *Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal*, pp. 12 f. (1883), makes the following illuminating observations :

Khwâjah Khiẓr.

"Who this person was is still a subject of dispute among Muhammadans. The eighteenth chapter of the *Korân* describes the expedition of Moses and Joshua in search of Al Khadr, called Zu'lqarnain, a title by which Alexander is known all over the East. Hence it is inferred that Khwâjah Khiẓr is no other than Alexander. Most commentators, however, identify him with Elias or Elijah, who having drunk of the water of life (*âb-i-hayât*), never tasted of death, and Mr. Deutsch informs us (*Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1869) that in the Talmud Elijah appears as a kind of immortal tutelary genius, who goes about in the garb of an Arab. Others affirm that he was the companion, counsellor and commander-in-chief of the armies of Zu'lqarnain, or Kaikobad ; [3] but in Asia Minor Khiẓr is a name of Saint George of Cappadocia.

"The legends about Khiẓr are not unknown to Western literature. To them we owe the beautiful poem of *The Hermit*, by Parnell and the tale of *L'Ermite* in Voltaire's *Zalig*. It is supposed that the story of Khiẓr in the *Korân* was brought to Europe by the Crusaders, and was embalmed in the folklore of the West until quickened by the pen of genius and graced with the charms of an apologue or moral tale.

"Whoever he was, Khwâjah Khiẓr is believed at the present day to reside in the sea and rivers of India, protecting mariners from shipwreck and to be only visible to those who accomplish a forty days watch on the banks of a river. (The person who is favoured in this way usually adopts the trade of a water-carrier, *bihistî*). Muhammadans of all ranks make vows to him in seasons of sickness or trouble, and present offerings in acknowledgment of any blessing, such as the birth of a son, attributed to his intercession.

"The festival of the Berâ, or raft, is properly observed on the last Thursday of the Muhammadan year ; in Bengal it is held on the last Thursday of the Hindu month Bhâdon (August-September), which corresponds with the breaking up of the rains. The festival is kept by Hindus, especially by boatmen and fishermen, as well as by Muhammadans. The Berâ, usually made of paper, ornamented with tinsel, has a prow resembling a female face, with the crest and breast of a peacock, in imitation of the figurehead on the bow of the *mor-pankhî* shoreboat. The effigy placed on a raft of plantain stems is set afloat at sunset and with its flickering lights gives a picturesque aspect to the dark and flooded stream. At Murshidâbâd, where the festival was first kept by Sirâj-ud-daulah, the Bagarathî is illuminated by hundreds of rafts floating with the stream while the banks are crowded by the inhabitants. It is the custom for the person launching the Bera to deposit on the bank a few slices of ginger, a little rice and two or three plantains, which are usually snatched up by some wretched beggar.

"Whether or no the modern idea of peopling the waters with deathless spirits was derived from the ancient Persians or Hindus, it harmonized so well with the prepossessions of the Muhammadans as to be adopted without hesitation as a religious conception. It is, however, impossible with our present knowledge to explain why Khwajah Khizr, who is not regarded by other Oriental people as the guardian spirit of the waters, should have been

3. Kaikobad was a legendary Persian king or hero of the *Shâhnâma* in the very early Peshdadian times, identified with the Median Deioces, conquered by the Assyrian king Sargon in 715 B.C.

selected as such in the Gangetic valley, more especially as in various parts of the Muhammadan world other fabulous persons are adopted by seafaring races. 'Abdu'l-Qâdir Gilâni and Abû-Zulaimah control portions of the Eastern seas, while a family spirit, Mâma Salmâ, presides over the beating against the cliffs of Râs Mosandim at the entrance of the Persian Gulf ; and Indian mariners sailing past propitiate her by offerings of cocoanuts, fruits and flowers.

" On the Coromandel Coast again Qâdir Walî Sâhib is a patron saint of sailors, as Shaikh 'Alî Haidarî was at Cambay in the fourteenth century, and Abu Ishâq al Kâzrûnî at Shirâz."

III.

Khwâja Khiẓr or Al-khiḍhr.

To get, however, at the Legend of Al-Khiḍhr, who is mixed up with both Biblical and Koranic story and with the Asiatic legend of Alexander the Great, I will commence with a quotation from Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 1885, *s.v.* Al-Khizr. But I will first quote from Wherry, *Quran*, 1885, vol. III, p. 76, where he identifies " Khiḍhar " with Jethro : " A remarkable feature in this Chapter [*Surat-al-Kahaf*] is that three of them are derived from apocryphal sources, *viz.*, the story of Khiḍhar (Jethro)."

Hughes writes as follows : " Al-Khiẓr, lit., 'the Green One.' The Maulâwî Muḥammad Ṭahir [*ob.* 1147 A.D.] says the learned are not agreed as to whether he is a prophet or not. His real name is, according to Al-Baiẓâwî [*ob. c.* 1286 A.D], Balyâ ibn Malkân. Some say that he lived in the time of Abraham and that he is still alive in the flesh, and most of the religious and Sûfiî mystics are agreed upon this point, and some have declared that they have seen him. And they say that he is still to be seen in sacred places, such as Makka [Mecca] and Jerusalem. Some few traditionists deny his existence : others say he is of the family of Noah and the son of a King (*Majmu'al Biḥâr*, p. 250). His name does not occur in the *Qur'ân*, but Hussain Jalâlu'ddîn [*ob.* 1505], Al-Baiẓâwî [*ob.* 1286], and nearly all the commentators believe that Al-Khiẓr is the mysterious individual referred to in the narrative in the *Qur'ân*, sûrah, xviii, 59-81 . . . .

" In some Muslim books he seems to be confounded with Elias and in others with St. George, the patron saint of England. In the above quotation [from the *Qur'ân*] he is represented as the companion of Moses and the commentator Hussain says he was a General in the army of Ẓu'l-Qarnain (Alexander the Great). But as Al-Khiẓr is supposed to have discovered and drunk of the Fountain of Life, he may be contemporary with any age."

Here we see the connection of Al-Khiẓr with the Zindâ Pîr, the Ever-living Saint, and the general surroundings of the Legend and its antiquity. Let us now see what the *Qur'ân*, c. 620 A.D., says about him. In the *Surat-al-Kahaf*, *Sipara*, xv, xvi, *Ruqn* 10, Sale's *Translation*, 1734, occur the following words : " And remember Moses said unto his servant Joshua, the son of Nun : ' I will not cease to go forward until I come to the place where the two seas meet, or I will travel for a long space of time.' But when they arrived at the meeting of the two seas they forgot their fish, which they had taken with them and they both went back, returning the way they came. And coming to the rock they found one of the servants [Al-Khiẓr according to received opinion] unto whom we had granted mercy from us, and whom we taught wisdom before us. And Moses said unto him : ' Shall I follow thee that thou mayest teach me part of that which thou hast been taught for a direction unto me ?' He answered : ' Verily thou canst not bear with me, for how canst thou patiently suffer those things, the knowledge whereof thou dost not comprehend? ' Moses replied : ' Thou shalt find me patient if God please : neither will I be disobedient unto thee in anything.' He said : ' If thou follow me, therefore ask me not concerning anything until I shall declare the meaning thereof unto thee.' So they both went on by the sea-shore until they went up into a ship : and he made a hole therein. And Moses said unto him : ' Hast thou made a hole therein that thou mightest drown those who are on board ? Now thou hast done a strange thing.' He answered: ' Did I not tell thee that thou couldest not bear with me ? This shall be a

separation between me and thee : but I will first declare unto thee the signification of that which thou couldest not bear with patience. The vessel belonged to certain poor men, who did their business in the sea: and I was minded to render it unserviceable because there was a king behind them who took every sound ship by force.' "

Following this Legend on to *Surah*, xviii, Sale has three notes pertinent to the present enquiry in the Chandos Edition of his great work. (1) At p. 222, he notes : "To explain this long passage the commentators tell the following story. They say that Moses, once preaching to the people, they admired his knowledge and eloquence so much that they asked him whether he knew any man in the world wiser than himself ; to which he answered in the negative. Whereupon God in a revelation, having reprehended him for his vanity (though some pretend that Moses asked God the question of his own accord), acquainted him that his servant Al-Khedr was more knowing than he, and at Moses' request told him he might find the person at a certain rock where two seas met ; directing him to take a fish with him in a basket, and that where he missed the fish that was the place. Accordingly Moses set out with his servant, Joshua, in search of Al-Khedr ; which expedition is here described. Al-Beiḍâwî [*ob. c.* 1286], Al-Zamakhsharî [*ob. c.* 1142], Al-Bokhârî [*ob.* 870], in Sonnâ [*c.* 7th cent. A.D.], etc." (2) Sale goes on (p. 222) : "It is said that when they came to the rock, Moses falling asleep, the fish which was wasted, leaped out of the basket into the sea. Some add that Joshua, making the ablution at the Fountain of Life, some of the water happened to be sprinkled on the fish, which immediately restored it to life. Al-Beiḍâwî [*ob. c.* 1286]." And (3) on p. 222 Sale notes : "This person according to the general opinion was the Prophet Al-Khedr, whom the Mohammedans usually confound with Phineas, Elias and St. George, saying that his soul passed by a metempsychosis successfully into all three. Some, however, say that his true name was Balya ebn Malcân, and that he lived in the time of Afrîdûn, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and that he preceded Dhu'lkarnein [Alexander of the Two Horns, the Great] and lived to the time of Moses. They suppose that Al-Khedr, having found out the Fountain of Life and drank thereof, became immortal and that he had therefore this name [the Green One] from his flourishing continually. Part of these fictions they took from the Jews, some of whom fancy that Phineas was Elias."

Part of the Legend is no doubt Semitic in origin, but the connection of Al-Khiẓr with the Fountain of Life would seem to go to Persian sources. We have just seen him connected with Afrîdûn, one of the very early semi-mythical Peshdadian kings of Persia known to the Muhammadan writers through Firdûsî's *Shâhnâma* (941–1020 A.D.). We shall now see him connected with another, Kaikubâd. In Shea and Troyer's *Dâbistân*, 1843, (vol. I, p. 57n.) occurs the following passage : "Khizr is confounded by many with the Prophet Elias, who is supposed to dwell in the Terrestrial Paradise in the enjoyment of immortality. According to the *Târîkh Muntakhab* [*c.* 1610 A.D.] this Prophet was Abraham's nephew and served as a guide to Moses and the children of Israel in their passage of the Red Sea and the desert. The same author tells us that Khizr lived in the time of Kai-Kobâd, at which he discovered the Fountain of Life (Herbelot)." The text, dated *c.* 1650, to which the above is a note, runs as follows : "They [the Sipâsiân, a Persian pre-Muhammadan sect] also assert that whatever modern writers have declared relative to Khizr and Iskander [Alexander] having penetrated into the regions of darkness, where the former discovered the Fountain of Life Immortal, means that the Iskandar or the intelligent soul, through the energy of the Khizr or reason, discovered, whilst in a state of human darkness, the Water of Life. In some passages they interpret the tradition after this manner : by Khizr is meant the intellectual soul or rational faculty, and by Iskander the animal soul or natural instinct. The Khizr of the intellectual soul, associated with the Iskander of the animal soul and the host (of perceptions) arrived at the fountain-head of understanding and obtained immortality, whilst the Iskander of the animal soul returned back empty-handed."

Here we have a philosophical explanation of a common people's tale by men, who did not believe in the plain story, told us, *more Asiatico*, after a fashion dear to the Sûfî's heart. However, Rehatsek in his *Alexander Myth of the Persians*, 1880, p. 56 f. tells the tale as follows : "Having arrived in a country, all the people of which were of strong build with red faces and yellow hair, Alexander asked them about the remarkable things of those regions. One of them replied that at some distance there existed a water about which no one could give any information, the spring called the Water of Life, . . . by drinking of which a human being becomes immortal . . . . An account, exceeding sixty distiches of Alexander's visit to this spring is given in the *Shâhnâmah* [of Firdûsî, 941–1020 A.D.]. His guide, the prophet Khiḍer, reached the water, drunk of it and attained immortality . . . . The subject is treated at much greater length in the *Sikandernâmah* of Nizami [1140–1203 A.D.] . . . . Also here the Prophet Khiḍer was the guide . . . . Khiḍer is successful in his errand, drinks the miraculous water and becomes immortal."

The late Dr. William Crooke gave me some of the references to which I have alluded, and he also gave me another to Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus* (1858), vol. I, p. 585, which unfortunately I have been unable to verify, to my great regret. If verifiable it would have been of much importance to the present argument, as Dr. Crooke stated it showed the cult of Al Khiẓr extending to the Caspian Sea, known as Daryâ-i-Khiẓr or the Sea of Khiẓr.

However, going across the Caspian into Southern Russia I find a quotation which gives one to think in this connection. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, 1872, 2nd ed., p. 151f., says: "Especially dangerous is it to bathe during the week in which falls the feast of the Prophet Ilya (Elijah [but ? Elias], formerly Perun, the Thunderer), for then Vodyany [a malignant water sprite] is on the look out for the victims." Here we have clearly a character created for a Semitic Prophet, assimilated by the Russian peasantry, through the adoption of Christianity, out of a pre-Christian god and sprite. The importance of this fact arises out of the consideration that if modern research is right in attributing to Southern Russia the original home of the Aryan migrant to Western Asia, Persia, and India, then the cult of Al-Khiḍr and his connection with the Water of Life may be ancient indeed.

It is, however, by no means clear from the older writers that the tradition of Al-Khiḍr and the Fountain of Life is of Persian and not of Semitic origin. Al-Bîrûnî, the historical philosopher (973–1048) at the Court of Mahmûd of Ghaznî (997–1030) with Firdûsî the historical poet, whom he must have known personally, in his *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, Sachau's *Translation*, 1879, writes (p. 269) of the Festivals of the Jews as follows : "[Month of *Tishri*] 7. Fasting of Punishment . . . . The Jew Ja'kûb. b. Mûsâ Al-nikrisî (*i.e.*, the physician) told me in Jurjân the following : 'Moses wanted to leave together with the Israelites, but Joseph the Prophet had ordered that they should take his coffin along with them. As he, however, was buried in the bottom of the Nile and the water flowed over him, he could not get him away. Now, Moses took a piece of paper and cut it into the figure of a fish : over this he recited some sentences, breathed upon it, wrote something upon it, and threw it into the Nile . . . . the coffin appeared.' " Again at p. 29, he writes of the Festivals of the Syrian Calendar : [Month of Ab] 5. Moses, the son of Amram. 6. Feast of Mount Tabor, regarding which the Gospel relates that once the Prophets, Moses the son of Amran and Elias, appeared to Christ on Mount Tabor, when three of his disciples, Simeon, Jacob and John were with him, but slept. When they awoke and saw this, they were frightened and spoke 'May our Lord *i.e.*, Messiah, permit us to build three tents ; one for thee and the other two for Moses and Elias.' They had not yet finished speaking, when three clouds standing high above them, covered them with their shadow. Then Moses and Elias entered the cloud and disappeared. Moses was dead already a long time before that, whilst Elias was alive and

is still living, as they say : but he does not show himself to mankind, hiding himself from their eyes. 7. Elias, the Everliving, whom we mentioned just now. 8. Elisha the Prophet, disciple of Elias."

So far Al-Bîrûnî, and in Sprenger's *Translation*, 1841, of Al-Mas'ûdî (*c.* 950) vol. I, p. 89 f. we read : "Those who believe in the Pentateuch and other ancient books maintain that Mûsâ [Moses] b. Misha, b. Yûsof [Joseph], b. Ya'kûb [Jacob], was a prophet before Mûsâ b. Amrân [the Moses of the Bible], and that it was he who sought El-Khiḍhr b. Melkân, b. Fâlgeh, b. 'Aber, b. Shâleh, b. Asfakhshâd, b. Sâm [Shem], b. Nûh [Noah]. Some of those who believe in the Old Testament say El-Khiḍhr was the same person as Hidhrûn b. 'Ismâyîl [Ishmael], b. Elifâz, b. El-'Aisû, b. Ishâk [Isaac], b. Ibrâhîm [Abraham]. He was sent as prophet to his nation, who were converted by him." Again at p. 121, he writes : "There were several prophets, and they were distinguished by godliness, between Solaimân [Solomon], Son of Dâwûd [David], and the Masîh [Messiah] as Aramayâ [Jeremiah], Dâniyâl, [Daniel], 'Ozair [Ezra], Shayâ [Isaiah], Hizkiâl [Ezekiel], Ilyâs [Elias], El-Yasa' [Elisha], Yûnos [Jonas], Dû'l-kifl [? Obadiah] and El Khiḍhr."

One more quotation from Al-Bîrûnî (p. 269) and I have done with the old Muhammadan writers : "[The month of Isfaridârmadh-Mah] the 19th or Farwardîn-Roz is called Naurôz [New Year's Day] of the rivers of all running waters, when people throw perfumes, rose-water, etc., into them." Here we are reverting to a Persian custom and nomenclature.

However, whether we are to look to the Semitic peoples or to the ancient Persian Aryans for the inception of the God of the Flood and the Fountain of Eternal Life as represented by Al-Khiḍhr, the Khwâja Khiẓr of India—*khwâja* by the way being an essentially Persian title—we find it pretty clear that he is an importation from the West into India. We find also the origin of the widely spread Fish Symbol in India and the identification of Khwâja Khiẓr with the Zindâ Pîr, the Living Saint, before the cult spread to India.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS; vol. VI, Sixth Meeting, Madras, January 1924. Calcutta, Government of India.

The modest volumes in which the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission are issued contain more and more valuable information as time goes on, and this one is specially full of important papers. It opens with one of Sir Evan Cotton's well annotated papers on old times under British rule, wherein he deals with Clive and the Strachey family in the days when Henry Strachey was Magistrate of the frontier district of Midnapur. It is a discursive paper, but it contains a new and most important account of the death of Clive from Mr. St. Loe Strachey writing with old family papers before him. Let me quote : "shortly before his death Clive addressed the following letter to Henry Strachey : 'how miserable is my condition. I have a disease which makes life insupportable but which my doctors tell me won't shorten it one hour.' The disease was "a very painful form of dyspepsia accompanied by vertigo," and so the great warrior and statesman cuts his throat.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar gives us further information about Shivaji in his own inimitable manner from unpublished French Records in Paris. This time it is about his doings in the Madras Karnatak where Jinji was his capital. This paper is of peculiar value because it is so important to learn all one can about Jinji. In the course of his pregnant remarks on this subject, as it appears in the French Records, Prof. Sarkar very properly points to the 'unique value' of the *Memoires* of François Martin, the founder of Pondicherry (MS. T. 1169 in the *Archives Nationales* of Paris). Of him the Prof. writes : "the diplomatic talent and administrative genius of M. Martin must lend a high value to whatever he wrote." Let us hope they will one day be printed for the use of students.

The next article is, however, perhaps the most arresting in this most interesting collection. Miss Clara E. J. Collet of University College, London, writes of "the private letter books of Joseph Collet, some time Governor of Fort St. George, Madras (1717-1720)." Joseph Collet was "chosen" Governor of York Fort at Bencoolen in 1710 and then Governor of Madras till 1720 and his "letter books cover that period and are contained in four large and firmly bound volumes." They are obviously full of notes of high value at a time when detailed information is largely lacking. He had an exciting time at Rio de Janeiro on the way out and the few extracts that Miss Collet has given us

of his observations there and in Sumatra only serve to what the appetite for more. Collet was evidently a man of independence of character and close observation, and also full of desire to learn what he could of the natives of the countries in which his lot was cast. Indeed one quotation from his letters of a conversation with an educated Hindu in 1712 is so good that I am extracting it separately as a note for this journal, as it is too long to quote in a book-notice. In fact it seems to be more than a pity that letters that promise so highly should be allowed to remain indefinitely in MS., and I sincerely hope that Miss Collet may find an opportunity of printing them *in extenso*.

Then follows Mr. J. J. Cotton with an entertaining notice of George Chinnery the artist, in which is collected a quantity of information well worth digesting. Here again I have found two matters which I am separately extracting for the journal: firstly an account of a massoolah boat and secondly of a catamaran in the first years of the nineteenth century. After George Chinnery we return to the Marathas again and have to follow a well-known writer on the affairs of that people—Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, who makes out a strong case indeed for further research into contemporary documents, as found in the Maratha Records, relating to the History of South India. *Inter alia* he writes: "on previous occasion I have made a reference to Janardhan Shivaram, the Peshwa's Vakil at Pondicherry. Some of his letters have now been published in the volumes of the *Itihas Sangraha*, and they testify to the ability and statesmanship of the writer. Unless these letters are translated into English, they will not be of much use to students of history not knowing Marathi. I would therefore suggest that the Commission arrange for the translation of these valuable documents. They are equally important as, if not more important than, the diary of Anand Ranga Pillay, the interpreter of Dupleix, which the Madras Government have recently published in English." The fact is that there is so great a mass of MS. matter relating to Maratha history in existence which ought to be unearthed and properly edited, that many suggestions have been made as to how it might be done. Here is another.

I have had occasion on other matters to draw attention to the Biblical saying: "Where the carcase is there shall the eagles be gathered together." I propose to use it again here. Create the Library and the Professor, and pupils will gather round them. It has always been thus. So I suggest, as a proposition attractive to the wealthy donor interested in the history of his country and people as well to the official similarly interested, that the documents of Maratha history be collected, so far as is possible, by the Bombay University and by other suitable centres with arrangements for their proper care, and that at each such centre a professor, and if possible readers also, of Historical Research, be appointed, and I feel sure that soon students will collect around them and the documents of Maratha History be made available for all the world to study. At any rate those who are inclined to back the study with funds will in this way find a definite object on which to spend money practically as well as usefully.

Mr. J. C. Sinha has some useful information on the attempts of Warren Hastings to reform the currency in his day; followed by Mr. S. V. Chari on famine relief in the Carnatic between 1770 and 1800, in the course of which he arrives at the opinion that the relief of a starving population is really a matter for the Government and not for private individuals.

Next comes a fine paper by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachariar upon Robert Orme and Colin Mackenzie. The former is, of course, now chiefly known by his great work on the military transactions of the 18th century and his enormous collection of MSS., but here we have his life and all its human experiences of ups and downs. Colin Mackenzie was a man of a different type, steadily rising in his profession till he became Surveyor-General of India and always collecting. He intended to make a *catalogue raisonné* of his immense collection, but died before it was possible to make one. It is still largely unexplored.

Mr. B. N. Banerjee, in an important paper on "Some Original Sources for a Biography of Begam Sombre," he describes the sources, in English, Marathi and Persian documents of the story of this great lady, whom he rightly describes as "a wonderful woman who played no inconspicuous part in the later history of India." In the course of his remarks he hints that probably somewhere in England may still exist her own manuscript diary. At any rate, her adopted son Dyce Sombre wrote: "Some notes I had made of Her Highness the Begam's memoirs with some intention of publishing them hereafter, and which I had collected with great care; but unfortunately they were taken away from me with some other papers."

In a short article on "the Bargi invasion of Bengal," in which an account is given of the *Maharastra Purana*, a poem which describes that terrible Maratha raid. Only the first canto however, of a remarkable poem has so far come to light, and Prof. J. N. Samaddar looks for help in discovering the rest of it. Then follows Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar with "An Account of the temple at Madura," which incidentally contains a good deal of history. And after him comes Mr. R. Sathyanatha Ayyar with a paper of great general interest on "Some Jesuit Records and their Historical Value," and it is good to see the author speaking highly of the early Jesuits in South India as to their possession "of the essential requisites for producing good historical documents"; and one is grateful to an Indian who is able to write:

"The conclusion is drawn [by the Jesuits] that the want of concerted political action [on the part of the controllers of the Vijayanagar Empire] in the face of the imminent danger to South India from the southern expansion of the Muhammadan powers and the uncompromising spirit of provincialism, rendered a Hindu empire impossible. Such a refreshing analysis of the political situation is a good commentary on the profound historic sense of [the Jesuit] missionaries."

The work under review is an *olla podrida* and there is no attempt made as to order in the mixture. So the next paper goes back to the Mackenzie collection of MSS. and that after it goes back again to a Christian subject. Mr. R. Gopalan writes on the historical value of the Mackenzie MSS. with special reference to the Pallava documents in the collection. Any fresh information regarding the Pallavas is always welcome, and it is most interesting to know that some of the Mackenzie MSS. can throw light on the subject. Then Mr. P. J. Thoma has an important article, on a Hindu Tradition on St. Thomas, in which we find his views on the true attribution of the name of the king who was the patron of St. Thomas in India. The Syriac version calls him Gúdnaphar: the Greek form is Gondaphares. The question then is—who was he? The usual identification is Gadaphara or Gudaphara of the Kabul region. But Mr. Thoma sets up Kandappa or Kanda Raja of South India as the person represented in the Syriac and Greek stories. It is worth investigation.

Mr. R. P. Tripathi talks about the Will of the great Oudh administrator of Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur, better known as Hakim Mehdi. The Will shows that this fine old man died in 1837 aged 84, leaving an enormous property. After this we are treated to "a few extracts" from the autobiography of Mir Nuru'ddin Khan Bahadur, Shuja Jung, Aide-de-Camp to various Commanders-in-Chief of Madras. This gallant old soldier served 60 years (1780-1840) in the old Sepoy Army without a break, was cognizant of many important things and lived to an honoured old age, highly appreciated and greatly rewarded by the European military officers for whom he worked so well. His great grandson, Mir Zynuddin, a Barrister, gives us some extracts from the autobiography, and one cannot but wish that we had the whole of it. Any contemporary work by an Indian serving in the critical days before the Mutiny in the Indian Armies is of value as a means of ascertaining the true causes of that important event. I cannot but hope that Mr. Mir Zynuddin will find means to publish a translation of his ancestor's papers in full.

The last paper in the book is Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali's account of the Last Will and Testament of Bahu Begum, wife of Shuja'u'ddaula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh. This grand old lady lived to be 88, dying in 1813, and in her long life saw the decline of the Mughal Dynasty of Delhi from Bahadur Shah to Shah Alam—truly an epic period for the Muhammadan rulers of India. She saw immense changes in her *entourage* and finally having quarrelled with her step-son, Sa'adat Ali of Oudh, she left all her property to the British Government. Such is the general historical story, but Mr. Abdul Ali's account gives many an interesting detail.

The above brief summary will show how the Indian Historical Records Commission is doing its work and how great the value of that work is.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE DATE OF ZOROASTER, by JARL CHARPENTIER. 1925.

In this valuable little pamphlet Prof. Charpentier controverts Prof. Hertel's views, as stated in his *Die Zeit Zoroasters*, on the subject of Zoroaster's date. Prof. Hertel's contention is that Zoroaster must have been alive in B.C. 522. This view Prof. Charpentier sharply criticises and finally fixes the great religious reformer's date—so far as it can be said to be fixable—"somewhere in the neighbourhood of B.C. 1000–900, or perhaps even earlier." In this opinion the present writer heartily concurs.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUFRIES.

SEVAJEES.

Some years ago I collected a few references to the pirates of the West Coast of India known to Europeans as Sevajees, and sometimes even as Savages. I now publish them as they may prove useful.

1698. "The Sevajees and Singanyans are now growne Stronge and very impudent So that Scarce any boats can pass to and from the Island without Convoys."—Abstract of a *Bombay General Letter* to the Company, dated 10 April 1698 (O.C. 6542)

1699. "Our neighbours the Portuguez . . . being obliged by the Sevajees who are continually plundering their Townes, to keep about these parts . . . about 12 or 16 small vessells of Warr."—*Bombay General Letter* to the Company, dated 21 August 1699 (O.C. 6711).

1703. "Hearing the Savagees were come to Suratt and burning all before them they sent up a Small Vessell and the Country boat to attend the Generalls Commands."—*Bombay General Letter* to the Company dated 13 February 1702-3 (F. R. Misc. vol. 5).

1703. Para 5. "10000 Sevajees a month since plundered the towns about Surate and burnt them attempted Suratt in vain but carried off a great Boate of Jewells &c. taken from the Flying inhabitants. . . . ."

Para. 9. "Sevagees threaten to return and burn Suratt."—*Suratt Generall Letter* to the Company, dated 8 March 1702-3 (F. R. Misc. vol. 5).

R. C. TEMPLE.

BUDDERMOKAN.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 58.)

IV.

Further References to Khwâja Khizar in Northern India.

The cult of Khwâja Khizar has been widely followed in the Panjâb from the days of Guru Nânak (A.D. 1469-1539), founder of the Sikh Religion. In the *Janam Sâkhî* ('Life,' dated *c.* 1600 A.D.) in Trumpp's *Adi Granth,* 1877, pp. xxiv f., occurs this story. "Then the Bâbâ [Nânak] started from his house and passed the second time a retired life in the Dakhan [South] . . . . With him were Saidô and Siṅhô of the Ghêliô Jaṭ Tribe. The Bâbâ went to the country of Dhanâsarî and remained some days there. At night-time Saidô and Siṅhô of the Ghêliô Tribe went to the river to perform worship. They went when yet one watch of the night was remaining and thought in their hearts that what the Guru [Nânak] had got from the Ḳhavâjah [Khiḍir] he had got in that very place. One night they went and saw a man coming towards them, in whose hand was a fish. That man asked : 'Who are you ?' Saidô and Siṅhô said : 'We are the disciples of Guru Nânak.' That man asked (further) : 'What for are you come here ?' Saidô replied : 'We are always coming here in the last watch of the night to worship the Khavâjah because our Guru has obtained (something) from the Khavâjah.' Then Saidô asked : 'Sir, who are you and where will you go ?' That man answered : 'I am the Khavâjah and am continually going to the Guru. I go at this time to pay worship to him. To-day I bring him a fish as an offering. Then Saidô and Siṅhô came and fell down at his feet and said : 'We are saying that the Guru has got it from you, and you are saying that you are always going to perform services (to the Guru), and that you bring to-day an offering to the Guru.' Then Khavâjah Khiḍir said : '*O ye men of the Lord, I am the Water and that Guru is the Mind. I have been many times from him, and many times I have been absorbed in him.*' Both disciples, Saidô and Siṅhô of the Ghêliô Tribe went then and fell at the feet of the Guru. The Guru asked : 'Why have you come to-day at this (early) time ? You have come before the day is risen.' Saidô the Ghêliô, told him how they had met with the Khavâjah. Then the Bâbâ [Nânak] uttered the *slôk* in the *Jap* [the last *slôka* in the *Japjî* : 'Mind is the Gurû, Water the father, the Great Earth the mother. Day and Night the two are male and female. Muse : the whole world sports.']."

To this story Dr. Trumpp, *Adi Granth,* (p. xxxiv n.) added a note : "Khavâjâ or Khavâja Khiḍir (Khwâjah Ḳhizr) according to Muslim tradition, the Prophet Elias. In Sindh and the Lower Panjâb Khwâjah Khiḍir is worshipped also by the Hindus as the river god of the Indus under the more common name of Jindâ Pîr [the Living Saint]."

Once a legend or story is to be found in or connected with the *Âdi Granth*, the Bible of the Sikhs, the personages concerned with it become common property in the Panjâb, and accordingly I find a note of my own on Khwâja Khizar in *Panjab Notes and Queries,* vol. I, 1884, No. 836 : "the common names for this God of the Flood are Khwâja Khizar, identified with Ilyâs (Elias) ; Khwâja Khâsâ ; Durmindr ; Dumindo ; Jindâ Pîr." Again Nesfield in the same *Journal,* vol. II, 1885, No. 3, writes : "[Khwâja Khizar] has been naturalised, however, in the Hindî language as Râja Kidar, and as such he has become the patron deity of the Hindu boating and fishing castes . . . . At the time of danger, he is invoked by these castes to protect the boat from being broken and submerged, or to show them the way when they have lost it."

Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography,* 1883, para. 217, writes also : Khwâjah Khiẓr, or the God of the Waters, is an extraordinary instance of a Musalmân name being given to a Hindu deity. Khwâja Khiẓr is properly that one of the great Muhammadan saints to whom the care of travellers is confided. But throughout the Eastern Panjâb, at any rate, he is the Hindu God

of the Water and is worshipped by burning lamps and feeding Brâhmans at the well, or by setting afloat on the village pond a little raft of sacred grass with a lighted lamp on it." Again he writes (para. 240): "The Hindus of the Indus also very generally worship the river itself under the name of Khwâja Khizr or Zinda Pîr, the Living Saint; the worship taking much the same form as that of Khwâja Khizr already described. They further revere, under the name of Vadêrâ Lâl, Dûlan Lâl, Daryâ Saḥib or Ulail Pârak, a hero, who is said to have risen from the Indus and to have rescued them from Muhammadan oppression. This hero would appear to be a sort of incarnation of the Indus, being sometimes called Khwâja Khizr and his story is related in the *'Urmrgît.*"

In my own *Legends of the Panjab*, vol. I, 1884, there is a good deal about Khwâja Khizar. *E.g.*, in the Legend of Safîdon (vol. I, pp. 415 f.) I remark in a prefatory note: "The town was founded by the Pâṇḍavas and its modern name is Safîdan, or more popularly Safîdôṅ [in the Jînd State]. In it there were at that time three large closed up wells. In one was *amṛita* [the Water of Life or Immortality], in another snakes, in the third, locusts. Niwal Daî [= ? Jaratkârû], the daughter of Râjâ Bâsak [Vâsuki], once opened the Amrita Well, in order to draw off some of the Water of Immortality to cure her father who was suffering from leprosy . . . By her magic strength she removed the stones from the well mouth, and tried to draw the water, so as not to show herself to the God of the Water. But the water went downwards into the well and the rope could not reach it. At last, being weary, she was ready to curse Khwâja Khizar, the God of the Water. But Khwâja Khizar said that she should have no water unless she showed herself to him. Now, Niwal Daî had never shown herself to anyone except her own parents, and she felt very uneasy, but, being helpless, and out of affection for her father, she showed herself to the water, which rose up at once to the brim of the well." The actual words of this Legend, translated at pp. 448 ff. are as follows:

"She pushed away the stone with her great toe.
She did not look at the water out of modesty,
And the water went down in the bottom (of the well).
She prayed to the holy Khwâja (Khizar).

Niwal Daî took the kerchief from her head
And fastened it on to the rope.
Khwâja (Khizar), to get a sight of the Princess,
Sent the water up bubbling.

. . . . .

The first bucketful Niwâl Daî offered to the saintly Khwâja (Khizar)."

In the Ballad of Îsâ Bâpârî, *op. cit.*, vol. I, (1884), pp. 216 f., 220 f., occurs the following words:—

"The boatmen consented and took their dues
And took the boat across.
Feeling the waves of the River (Indus) the boats
Began to toss up and down.
The boat began to sink in the River,
Îsâ began to worship the saints.

. . . . .

Khwâja Khizar had no news (of him)
And the boat got across."

In the famous Legend of Râjâ Rasâlu, vol. I, (1884), p, 41, I find the following remark: "My hedge-hog wife wanted water, and I became ashamed: taking my *lôṭâ* I went to the bank of a large river (*khwâjâ daryâe, i.e.*, to Khwâja Khizar)." And again in the Legend of

Guru Guggâ, after Mother Earth has persuaded Guru Guggâ, a famous hero, to accept Islâm; occur the words (vol. I, 1884, p. 206) :

" He is as full of honour as Khwâja Khizar : go to him.

. . . . .

Repeat the Creed (*Kalima*) and come.

. . . . .

I will go onward to Ajmer and my hope will be fulfilled.

When he saw Rattan Hâjî and Khwâja Khizar he stood before them."

And then in the well-known story of the Marriage of Hîr and Rânjhâ (vol. II, 1885, p. 519) is this passage :

" May thy boat sink and thy oars break !
I have found a ruby from Khwâja (Khizar, *i.e.*, out of the river)."

Lastly to show how far the idea of Khwâja Khizar has sunk into the people of the Panjâb; in the *Kursînâma*, or Genealogy, of the Saints of the Lâlbêgîs, a sect of the Scavenger Caste of the Panjâb and indeed of Northern India, who are out-caste, are found the following lines [vol. I (1884), pp. 531 ff.] :

" *The Genealogy of the Saints* :
First is Pîr Âsâ :
Second is Pîr Khâsâ :
Third is Pîr Safâ :
Fourth is Pîr Giljhapṛâ.

A confused allusion to Muhammadan Saints, etc. Âsâ is for 'Îsâ, *i.e.*, Jesus Christ : Khâsâ is Khwâja Khizar : Safâ is for Safîu'llah, the usual title of Idris or Enoch (Akhnûkh) : Giljhapṛâ is Lâl Bêg himself [the chief object of worship among North Indian scavengers]."

In these quotations from the Panjâb we have displayed before us the assimilation by a population either Hindu, or originally Hindu, of the Muslim story of Khwâja Khiẓr. In the following statements, besides in those already quoted in the early part of this discussion, we can follow the process right across Northern India to Bengal. In Crooke's *Rural Glossary*, 1888, *s.vv.*, we find : "Khwâja Khiẓr (Barun), the God of the Water and Woods . . . . Barun (Skr. Varuṇa), the Hindu God of Water : *cf.*, Khwâja Khiẓr." Here we find Khwâja Khiẓr identified with the old Hindu God of Water.

Again in Grierson's *Bihar Peasant Life*, 1885, p. 403, we read : "Khâjê Khidar ; the patron God of the Boatmen (Malâh) Caste. He is also confounded with a similar female deity, Gangâ Mâi. Musalmân women fast every Thursday in the month of Bhâdôñ (August-September), and call the fast Khâjê Khidar kâ Rôjâ."

Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, an English woman married to an Oudh noble, writing her *Observations* in 1832, says (vol. I, p. 288 ff.) : "The last month of the periodical rains is called Sahbaund [Sâwan]. There is a custom by the Musalmân population [of Lucknow], the origin of which has never been exactly explained to me. Some say it is in remembrance of the Prophet Elisha or Elijah [*i.e.*, Khwâja Khizar], and commences with the first Friday of Sahbaund, and is followed up every succeeding Friday through this concluding month of the rainy season . . . . The learned men call it a Zeenahnah [Zenâna] or children's custom . . . . A bamboo frame is formed in the shape of a Chinese boat : this frame-work is hidden by a covering of gold and silver tissue-silk or coloured muslin bordered and neatly ornamented with silver paper. In this light many lamps are secreted of common earthen-ware. A procession is formed to convey the tribute called 'Elias ky kishtee' [*Ilyâs kî kishtî*, Elias's boat] to the river . . . . The *kishtee* (boat) is launched amidst a flourish of trumpets and drums and the shouts of the populace."

Finally in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII (1899), p. 195, I had a short note on Khwâja Khizar giving various names for him in Northern India as God of the Flood. *E.g.*, Khwâja Khizar identified with Ilyâs (Elias); Khwâja Khâsa: Durmindr, Dumindo; Jindâ Pîr. I also quoted Trumpp, *Adi Granth*, p. xxiv and compared the story of Khwâja Khizar with the Russian myth of the Vodyany or Water-sprite, who is mixed up with Ilyâ (Elijah). This sprite Ralston says, *Songs of the Russian People*, 2nd ed., p. 152, is properly Perun, the Slavonic Thunder God, thus carrying the cult of Khwâja Khizar Westwards into Europe.

In my edition of the *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675–80), vol. I, p. 379, occurs the following passage: "In the name of God, the underwritten persons have given a writeing to Mr. Vincent, *vizt.*, Wee . . . . Danungagoes [Dumindo Ghos]." I recollect being puzzled with the Bengali personal name, Dumindo. But the above note settles the point, as no doubt this servant of the old East India Company was named after Khwâja Khizr Durmindr.

V.

Khwâja Khizar in South India.

The cult of Khwâja Khizar has duly spread to Southern India, witness Herklots' *Qanun-ê-Islam* which he wrote in Hindustan in 1832. It contains an account of the religious customs of the Southern Indian Muhammadans, in the course of which there are passages relating to Khwâja Khizar. Thus, quoting from the 1863 edition of his work, at p. 21, I read as to domestic ceremonies: "Moondun [*mûndan*] or Shaving . . . . Those who can afford it have the hair [of the child] taken to the water-side, and then, after they have assembled musicians and the woman and offered fateeha [*fâtiḥa*, oblations and offerings to saints] in the name of Khoaja Khizur over the hair, on which they put flour, sugar, ghee and milk, the whole is placed on a raft (or *juhaz* [*jahâz*] a ship), illuminated by lamps . . . . they launch it on the water."

Again on pp. 66 f., the following statement is made: (concerning marriage) . . . . In the evening of that day about eight or nine o'clock, having launched the *juhaz* or ship, the ladies apply *huldee* [*haldî*, turmeric] to the bridegroom . . . . The *juhaz* is a wooden frame-work in the shape of a stool, to the four legs of which are fastened as many earthen pots or panikins; or it is made of the straw of bamboos in the shape of a boat so as to prevent its sinking, and it is variously ornamented . . . . Having . . . . covered it over with a red *koorsoon* [*kursum*] (safflower) coloured cloth and lighted a lamp made of wheat flour with ghee in it, they cause it to be carried on the bridegroom's, or some other person's head . . . . With torch lights they proceed to the banks of the river, sea or tank, and having offered there fateeha [*fâtiḥa*] in the name of Khoaja Khizur (the peace of God be upon him) over the eatables, the ship-wright takes them off and distributes . . . . "

Herklots then describes a weekly custom of the more piously and ritually inclined at p. 181 ff.: "There are some people who, every Thursday in the year, put a few flowers and some sugar in a *dônâ* [small boat] and launch it on the water in the name of Khoaja Khizur, and at times throw a number of kowries into the water.

"I understand that in Bengal it is usual, on any Thursday (but among the rich usually on the last one) of the Bengalee month Bhadon, for the men and women to fast all day in the name of Khoaja Khizur, and that having made one or two *juhaz* [boat], alias *bayra* or *mohur-punk'hee* or *luchka* [*bêṛâ*, *mohar-pankhî*, *lachhkâ*] of split bamboo frame-work, covered with coloured paper, ornamented . . . . letting off fire-works in great pomp and state, accompanied by friends and relatives, convey them on men's shoulders, as they do taboots [*tâbût*, a coffin, bier] to the brink of the river, where they fix them on floating rafts, made by trussing the trunks of plaintain-trees with bamboo skewers. They also take a couple of plates, one containing the food of oblation, the other the paste or silver lamps lit up with ghee and thread (as a wick), having had *fateeha* offered over them by the moolla [*mullah*, priest]

in the name of Khoaja Khizur, ... and having put the above two plates with some cash [copper coins] as an offering into it, they set it adrift on the water. Afterwards grown up persons, as well as boys, jump into the water, swim for, and plunder it.

"Some take the *bayras* (*bêṛâs*) to the middle of the river, and thence set them adrift; but previously to so doing, set afloat on the stream hundreds of earthen plates, one after another, containing lamps . . . . The poor place two earthen plates . . . . and take along with them a *loṭâ* [pot], and proceed in the evening to the bank of the river, and there having lighted up the lamps, they get the *fateeha* offered in the name of Khoaja Khizur by the *moolla* (to whom they give kowries), and float the plates on the water, which the people immediately plunder."

Here again we see the mingling of ideas of both Hindu and Musalman origin in this cult.

VI.

Madra and Bhadra.

A passage from the writings of Forlong in *JRAS.*, 1895, p. 203 ff., set me enquiring into a purely Hindu aspect of this cult, He wrote : "Knowing the particular works and localities, of which indeed I possess sketches, I have no hesitation in saying that the rock-bound god of Akyab [Badar of the 'Buddermokan'] and elsewhere is our old friend the Bûd-kal or Bad-a-kal, the Bod or 'Badstone,' common in the villages of Southern and Central India and not rare in Upper and Himâlayan India . . . . The whole great cone [Lanka's peak in Ceylon] is, or was in the language of the masses, a Bud, Bod or Madra,—that familiar and kindly name, which they have ever applied to village Bad-a-kals or 'Badstones,' as emblems of Madra or Siva."

The above statement, however, is not in accordance with that of Dames, *Barbosa*, vol. II, pp. 117-118 on Adam's Peak in Ceylon, the text of which runs as follows : "In the midst of this Island [Ceylon] there is a lofty range of mountains among which is a very high stony peak, on the summit whereof is a tank of water deep enough to swim in and a very great footprint of a man in a rock, well shaped. This the Moors [Muhammadans] say is the footprint of our father Adam, whom they call Adombaba, and from all the Moorish regions and realms they come thither on pilgrimage declaring that from that spot Adam ascended to Heaven." Mr. Dames' comment is : "Barbosa probably heard the phrase Adam Bâbâ used of Buddha by Muhammadans. I have myself heard the God Śiva called Bâbâ Adam in Northern India, and the identification of one of the leading gods with Adam may have come down from the Buddhist period."

On this statement I made the following remarks in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LII, p. 132 : "I am tempted to support this with an instance to the opposite effect. The name Buddha Makân (Buddha's House) for well-known Muhammadan sailors' shrines on the Northern and Eastern Coasts of the Bay of Bengal, notably at Akyab on the Arakan Coast and at Mergui on the Tenasserim Coast, arises out of a corruption, through local Buddhist influence combined with folk-etymology, of the name of the great sailors' saint Badru-'ddîn Auliâ, whose chief shrine is at Chittagong. So Badr Maqâm became Buddha Makân."

Going further with my enquiry into Madra and Bhadra, I did not meet with any very satisfactory result in India and in fact could not find any quotations worth recording. Bhadra seems to be mixed up with the Hindu goddess Kâlî : *e.g.*, the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XV, pt. II, Kanara, p. 297, gives the following information : "Gokarn : Shrines and Pools . . . . North of Venkaṭarâman's temple, at the east corner of the town, is the temple of Bhadrakâlî or Dakshinakâlî, with her attendants Hadshinbîrâ, Doddahosbâ, Sunnahosbâ, Kadbîrâ. and Holayadrâ. Kâli's image is a figure of a woman holding a sword. She stands facing the south and is the guardian of the south quarter of Gokarn." But there is not much in this for the present purpose, and I am afraid that, after all, there is little in Forlong's suggestion.

(*To be continued.*)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CAREER OF GURU HARGOVIND.

BY INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

(*Continued from page* 50.)

II. Hargovind and the Moghul Government.

"Hargovind was always attached to the stirrup of the victorious Jahangir," says the *Dabistan*.[48] We have seen in the previous section that Hargovind could not have entered into the service of the Emperor before A.D. 1619 or 1620, and that he was still in the employ of Jahangir when the latter died in 1627. But what exactly the position of Hargovind under Jahangir was, it is very difficult to determine. From Macauliffe's account it only appears that the Guru had become a great friend of the Emperor and had accompanied him in his tour to Kashmir. But Mohsun Fani's remarks make it absolutely clear that Hargovind had actually become a servant of the Muhammadan Government, and he is corroborated by the *Panth Prakash*[49] and the *Itihas Guru Khalsa*.[50] These Sikh accounts claim that Hargovind was appointed a sort of supervisor over the Punjab officials with a command of 700 horse, 1000 foot and 7 guns, as a reward for his services against Raja Tarachand of Nalgarh, whom he had subdued and brought to the Emperor. Narang wrongly mentions the *Dabistan* as an authority for the latter statement that Hargovind subdued the Raja of Nalgarh,[51] Mohsun Fani merely stating that the Guru took refuge at Geraitpur (Kiratpur) "which lies in the mountainous district of the Panjab, and was then dependent on the Raja Tarachand, who had never paid homage to the Badshah, Shah Jahan"[52]. Dr. Narang's confusion is perhaps due to the fact that both the chiefs are named Tarachand, but the latter cannot be the chief of Nalgarh, as Kiratpur was situated within the territories of the hill chief of Kahlur.[53] However, we know that some of the Hill Rajas revolted during the reign of Jahangir. In 1615 Jahangir sent an expedition to reduce the famous fort of Kangra. Murtaza Khan, the commander of the expedition, died without achieving any thing, and the supreme charge of the affair was then entrusted to Suraj Mal, the son of Raja Basu. The latter disbanded his troops, and allying himself with some of the hill chiefs, openly rebelled. But the rebellion was crushed and Kangra at last capitulated on November 16, 1620.[54] It was also about this time that Hargovind had accompanied the Emperor to Lahore and, as he had thereby come very near to the scene of operations, it is not improbable that Hargovind was put in charge of a minor command and sent against one of the rebellious Hill Rajas. But the story of the personal friendship between the Emperor and the Guru and the latter's appointment as a sort of supervisor over the Punjab officials seems to be disproved by the almost decisive negative evidence of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. In that diary "full accounts of the riots and rebellions, wars and conquests are given. The imperial regulations are reproduced in full. All the important appointments, promotions and dismissals are mentioned. Sketches of the principal nobles and officers are drawn in a lifelike manner" and "the Emperor's own dailylife is revealed with candour and frankness".[55] Further, it was only in the sixteenth year of his reign, *i.e.* 1623, that the Emperor, owing to severe illness, entrusted the task of writing the memoirs to Motamad Khan. But the Guru had come into the Emperor's favour already in 1620. The fact that even the name of Hargovind does not occur in Jahangir's memoirs seems to prove that the Guru could not have been so intimate with the Emperor as the Sikhs would have us believe, and the position that he held was also certainly a very minor one, which the Emperor did not think worth his while to notice. Mohsun Fani's evidence also points definitely to the same conclusion, for he says that " when the Guru returned to Batnesh, which is a district of the Punjab, he attached himself to Yar Khan, the eunuch, who

48 Vol. II, pp. 273, 274.

49 P. 107.

50 P. 128.

51 Narang, *ibid.*, p. 56, f.n.

52 *Dabistan*, vol. II, pp. 175, 276.

53 Cunningham, *ibid.*, p. 59.

54 Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, pp. 316, 317.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 454.

held the office of a Faujdar in the Nawabi of the Punjab, and whom he assisted in the administration."[56] Thus Hargovind was not a supervisor over the Punjab officials, but the mere assistant of a Faujdar.

Mohsun Fani does not state whence the Guru returned to Batnesh. But the word "return" seems to suggest that he had formerly been at that place. It may well be that after his tour with the Emperor and his expedition against the Raja of Nalgarh, Hargovind had been posted at Batnesh. He was subsequently called elsewhere or left the place of his own accord, and again returned there after the accession of Shah Jahan. This is, however, little more than a conjecture. Indeed, it is impossible to fix the details of the Guru's life in chronological order since his release from Gwalior until he finally cuts his connection with the Government and comes back to Amritsar. From the Sikh accounts, which however never admit that Hargovind had entered into the service of the Government, it only appears that the Guru had been leading a wandering life, and that troubles with the Government were already commencing. We have seen that immediately after his accession Hargovind had taken to arms. About five hundred Manjha youths had enlisted in his service,[57] and besides, "several men out of employ and without a taste for manual labour flocked to the Guru's standard."[57] Others also gathered round him, "who were satisfied with two meals a day and a new uniform every half-year."[58] His imprisonment could not in any way damp his military ardour, and there is evidence to show that after his release he continued the same old policy. His service under the Government served him as a cloak and he began to increase his military resources. Hargovind is said to have enlisted all malcontents and fugitives among his followers and to have taken many dacoits and free-booters into service[59]. This seems to be supported by the statement of Mohsun Fani that 'whoever was a fugitive from his home took refuge with him'.[60] So that, very soon "the Guru had 800 horses in his stable, 300 troopers on horseback and 60 men with fire-arms were always in his service"[60]. He also enlisted bands of Pathan mercenaries, and a Pathan Chief named Painda Khan became one of his most able and trusted adherents[61]. The Guru was thus daily becoming a distinct source of danger to established order and a rallying point of disaffection[62]. Dr. Trumpp says, "As the Guru's expeditions were nearly always directed against the Mahomedans and the extortionate provincial authorities, we need not wonder that his popularity fast increased with the ill-treated Hindu rural population; every fugitive or oppressed man took refuge in his camp, where he was sure to be welcomed without being much troubled about religion, and the charms of a vagrant life and the hope of booty attracted numbers of warlike Jats, who willingly acknowledged him as their Guru, the more so as he allowed his followers to eat all kinds of flesh, that of the cow excepted"[63]. When due regard is had to the nature of the Guru's following and the traditional marauding instincts of the Jats, who preponderated among his followers, one is tempted to agree with Dr. Trumpp. And we have clear, indisputable evidence, which almost wholly bears out Dr. Trumpp's remarks. The Sikhs of the old school did not apparently like the Guru's innovations and thought that 'he was too much occupied with Mahomedans and military exercises'. Hargovind often used to distribute the offerings made to him by the Sikhs to his Mahomedan followers. Painda Khan in particular was pampered in every way.

56 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 274.

57 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 4.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

59 Narang, *ibid.*, p. 56; Cunningham, *ibid.*, p. 56.

60 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 277.

61 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 52, 76.

62 It is said that Ram Pratap, the fugitive Raja of Jaisalmer, took refuge with Hargovind and that Yar Khan and Khwaja Sarai, dismissed commanders of the Moghul army, entered the Guru's asylum. (Narang, *ibid.*, p. 56 f.n. 1. See also *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 280.) We are further told that two Pathan nobles, named Anwar and Hasan Khan, left the service of the Government and took refuge with Hargovind. (*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*. See also Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 100.)

63 Trumpp, *ibid.*, p. lxxxiv.

This the Sikhs could not appreciate, and it was ultimately decided that a deputation consisting of some notable Sikhs should wait upon Bhai Gurdas, who had very great influence with the Guru, and ask him to remonstrate with Hargovind on his general conduct. It is said that it was on this occasion that Bhai Gurdas composed the significant *pauri* that occurs in his 26th *war*, and which we shall presently quote[64]. It has to be remembered, however, that the verse itself might have led to the fabrication of the story of the deputation, and instances of this kind are not rare in Sikh literature. Macauliffe says that most of the details of the *Janamsakhis* of Guru Nanak are simply settings for his verses and compositions.[65] So, we cannot as yet definitely say to which period of Guru Hargovind's life the *pauri* refers. But there is clear internal evidence which proves that it was composed after the release of Hargovind from Gwalior. As Bhai Gurdas died in 1629,[66] it is evident that the *pauri* was composed during the particular period of Hargovind's life which we have now been discussing. The importance of the passage in question cannot be gainsaid, as Bhai Gurdas was a contemporary and a very ardent admirer of the Gurus, and we therefore make no apology for quoting it in full. It runs:

"People say the former Gurus used to sit in the temple; the present Guru remaineth not in any one place.

The former Emperors used to visit the former Gurus; the present Guru was sent into the fortress by the Emperor.

In former times the Guru's darbar could not contain the sect; the present Guru leadeth a roving life and feareth nobody.

The former Gurus, sitting on their thrones, used to console the Sikhs; the present Guru keepeth dogs and hunteth.

The former Gurus used to compose hymns, listen to them, and sing them; the present Guru composeth not hymns, nor listeneth to them, nor singeth them.

He keepeth not his Sikh followers with him, but taketh enemies of his faith and wicked persons as his guides and familiars.

I say, the truth within him cannot possibly be concealed; the true Sikhs, like the bumblebees, are enamoured of his lotus feet.

He supporteth a burden intolerable to others and asserteth not himself."[67]

It is to be noticed that in the last two verses Bhai Gurdas does not dispute the truth of the people's allegations, but merely expresses his firm belief that the Guru's motive would soon become clear and then everybody would learn to appreciate his actions. But that Bhai Gurdas himself did not also quite approve of the Guru's irregularities, is proved by his remarks in the twentieth *pauri* of his thirty-fifth *war*.[68] Bhai Gurdas says, "Even if the Guru become a play-actor, his Sikhs should not lose their faith." This seems to indicate that in Bhai Gurdas' opinion Hargovind had actually become a play-actor.[69]

It is thus evident that Hargovind was leading a disorderly life and that conflict with the State had practically become inevitable. The Sikh chroniclers state that difficulties had commenced even during the reign of Jahangir. The incident of Kaulan, the Kazi's daughter, or as some say, his concubine, has already been referred to. The Kazi, moreover, had other complaints against the Guru. A beautiful horse that was being brought from Kabul by a Sikh *masand* named Sujan[70] for the personal use of the Guru was forcibly captured by an

64 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 76.

65 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. lxxxvii.

66 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 144.

67 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 76, 77.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 134.

69 The Sikhs state that Hargovind could not like the verse and inflicted a punishment on Bhai Gurdas in order to teach him humanity. The Bhai was, however, afterwards pardoned and allowed to continue his literary work (Macauliffe, vol. IV, pp. 134-137).

70 The *Itihas Guru Khalsa* (p. 131) states that it was Bhag Mal, a Sikh merchant.

imperial officer. The Emperor presented the horse to the Kazi of Lahore. The Guru, however, recovered it by force, and in addition Kaulan was abducted. The Kazi complained to the Emperor, the Emperor refused to interfere, and the matter was hushed up, though only temporarily.[71]

But the Guru could not long remain in peace with the Government, and after the accession of Shah Jahan open hostilities broke out. It so happened that one day when Shah Jahan had gone out hunting near Amritsar, the Guru also was similarly occupied. The Guru's followers and the servants of the imperial hunt quarrelled about a bird, and finally the imperialists were driven out with slaughter. This was too great an offence to be lightly passed over, and "the enemies of the Guru thought it a good opportunity to revive the charges against him, and to remind the Emperor of his alleged misdeeds." An expedition under Mukhlis Khan was sent against Hargovind and a battle was fought near Amritsar.[72] The Sikhs describe the battle in great detail[73] and unanimously affirm that the Guru came out completely victorious. Mohsun Fani, however, says that "at Ramdaspur (Amritsar) Hargovind sustained an attack of the army, which Shah Jahan, the shadow of God, sent against him, and the Guru's property was then plundered."[74] It seems that the Sikh accounts also corroborate Mohsun Fani, though in a curious way. It is stated that the Sikh detachment at Lohgarh (something of a fortress outside the city) was too small to cope with the invaders. The Muhammadans made short work of them and took possession of the Guru's palace. As the coming day was fixed for the marriage of the Guru's daughter, Viro, sweets had been stored in the house for the marriage feast. The Muhammadans "gorged themselves to repletion" and 'surfeited by the Guru's sweets' could not help sleeping, when they were surprised by the Guru's men and entirely routed, Mukhlis Khan himself being killed in the fray[75]. It is needless to discuss the merits of this story. Suffice it to say that clearly the Guru's house was plundered by the Muhammadans on this occasion and that his alleged victory did not prevent his hasty flight from Amritsar. Mohsun Fani says that the Guru fled to Kartarpur[76], and the Sikh accounts also bear him out[77].

---

71 This is somewhat different from the accounts given in the Sikh chronicles. (See Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 38-47; *Panth Prakash*, pp. 108–110; *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, pp. 131–136). We have left out the tedious details and narrated only what appears to us to be the kernel of the story.

It is stated by some authorities that this incident occurred during the reign of Shah Jahan. (See Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 49, T.N.I.; *Panth Prakash*, p. 108; *Punjab Notes and Queries*, vol. I, sec. 740.) But this cannot be true. The expedition of the Kaulsar must have taken place after Kaulan's departure to Amritsar. As already noticed, Macauliffe gives 1621 as the date of the excavation of the tank. The *Itihas Guru Khalsa* states that the excavation was commenced in 1624 and completed in 1627 (p. 135). The *Panth Prakash* (p. 112) itself places it in 1627. The mistake might very well have been due to confusion with regard to the year of Jahangir's death, which event the *Panth Prakash* places in 1624 (p. 108).

There is also some difference of opinion with regard to Kaulan. The Sikhs unanimously state she was the daughter of the Kazi, whereas the *Tarikh-i-Punjab* states that she was merely a maid-servant. As Dr. Narang says, "Muhammadans, according to Cunningham, assert that she was a concubine, and the Hindu name of the girl, Kaulan (lotus), would confirm the Moslem view. The girl might have been a Hindu and might have been forcibly abducted by the Kazi, by no means an uncommon occurrence in those days. Thinking the Guru to be a champion of the Hindus, she might have escaped and taken refuge with him. (Narang, *ibid.*, p. 57 f.n.; see also Cunningham, *ibid.*, p. 58.)

72 The Sikhs state that the battle was fought outside the city, but it seems that Amritsar itself was the scene of action.

73 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 82-93; *Gur Bilas* (published by Gulab Singh and Sons), pp. 271-291; *Panth Prakash*, pp. 113, 114; *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, pp. 142–149.

74 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 275.

75 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 84; *Panth Prakash*, p. 113.

76 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 275.

77 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 96; *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, p. 150; *Panth Prakash*, p. 144.

It does not seem that Hargovind remained long at Kartarpur, which was situated in the Jalandhar Doab between the Ravi and the Beas.[78] He continued his journey, crossed the Beas and "pitched his camp on the tumulus of an ancient village". Hargovind decided that this was a very suitable site for the foundation of a city, and ordered that the foundation should be laid out immediately and the whole work completed without delay. But the landlord and *chauduri* of the place appears to have raised difficulties. His son, Ratan Chand, complained to the Subahdar of Jalandhar, and a small army was sent against the Guru. Hargovind, however, succeeded in beating it back, and the city of Sri Hargovindpur was then founded.[79]

After this Hargovind appears to have remained in peace for some time, but his restless character again involved him in hostilities with the Muhammadan government. It is said that two *masands* named Bakht Mal and Tara Chand were bringing two horses "of surpassing beauty and fleetness" for the Guru, but these again were seized by the Emperor's officials. An ardent follower of the Guru, named Bidhi Chand, who had formerly been a notorious highwayman and robber, and whose exploits in that capacity are described by the Sikh chroniclers in great detail, succeeded in recovering the horses from the Emperor's stable at Lahore. Thereupon the Emperor sent an army against the Guru. Hargovind thought it prudent "to seek shelter in some advantageous position," and he is said to have retired to the wastes of Bhatinda, south of the Sutlej, where it might be useless or dangerous to follow him.[80] There, near the village of Lahira, a great battle is said to have been fought, in which again the imperialists were completely routed. The date of the battle is given as 16th of Maghar, Sambat 1688 (A.D. 1631).[81]

Mohsun Fani does not make any clear reference to the two actions described above. But he says that before and after the battle of Kartarpur, the last of Hargovind's battles against the Moghul Government, "he encountered great dangers of war." As the battle of Amritsar is definitely referred to, it seems that in the meantime, *i.e.*, between the first battle, that of Amritsar and the last battle, that of Kartarpur, the Guru had had to engage in some other minor actions. And the remark, "with the aid of God he escaped unhurt, though he lost his property,"[82] seems to indicate that he did not meet with decisive reverses. Mohsun Fani's remark, however, may as well refer to the personal safety of Hargovind ; but, nevertheless, it is to be noticed that Hargovind's last battle was fought at Kartarpur, and therefore it is clear that after the battle of Lahira Hargovind found himself strong enough to leave his retreat and return to the plains. It is thus difficult to say what actually happened. The Sikh accounts state that "the Guru allowed Hasan Khan to return to Lahore with the survivors of the imperial army."[83] It does not seem probable that the Guru willingly allowed them to retire. Hargovind had taken up his position in a very advantageous place. "The Guru's army was so disposed round the only tank in the area that when the enemy arrived they could not obtain access to its water, and thus must inevitably perish from thirst."[84] It appears that the imperialists could not cope with the natural difficulties of the situation and the Guru succeeded in compelling them to retire.

After this Hargovind "watched his opportunity" and soon returned to Kartarpur. He appears to have lived for some time in peace, but troubles again commenced through the defection of Painda Khan. Who this Painda Khan was, we do not definitely know. On

78 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 26.

79 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 102-119; *Panth Prakash*, p. 115; *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, pp. 150-156. See also Macauliffe's foot-note on p. 104.

80 Cunningham, *ibid.*, p. 58.

81 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 179-186; *Panth Prakash*, p. 117.

82 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 275.

83 Macauliffe, *ibid*., vol. IV, p. 186.

84 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 179; *Panth Prakash*, p. 117.

the authority of certain Sikh accounts Cunningham states, "the mother of one Painda Khan, who had subsequently risen to some local eminence, had been the nurse of Hargovind, and the Guru had ever been liberal to his foster-brother."[85] From Macauliffe's account it simply appears that Painda Khan was a Pathan mercenary[86], who entered the Guru's service and rose high in his favour. He had led the Guru's army in the battle of Amritsar, and it was chiefly to his valour and ability that Hargovind's successes were due. Mohsun Fani merely says that he was the son of Fattah Khan Ganaida[87], while Irvine makes him an imperial commander.[88] Irvine was perhaps led to this belief by the fact that Painda Khan commanded the troops against Hargovind at the time of the battle of Kartarpur. However, this Painda Khan quarrelled with the Guru about a hawk [89] and joined the imperialists. Another expedition was now sent against the Guru under the leadership of Painda Khan, but it is stated that the imperialists were again totally defeated and Painda Khan himself was slain.[90] Mohsun Fani also seems to corroborate the Sikh chroniclers, because he, too, says that on this occasion Mir Baderah and Painda Khan found their death.[91] We do not know who this Mir Baderah was; most probably he was an imperial officer who had accompanied the expedition, but there can be no doubt that Mohsun Fani's Painda Khan is identical with the man whom we have been discussing.

The rest of the Guru's adventures is soon told. Mohsun Fani says, "At last Hargovind retired from the war at Kartarpur to Bhagwarh, and because there, in the vicinity of Lahore, he met with difficulties, he betook himself thence in haste to Geraitpur, which lies in the mountainous district of the Punjab."[91] The Sikh records also state that after the battle of Kartarpur (which took place in 1634) the Guru left the place and in the course of his journey reached Phagwarh. "As the town was on the road to Lahore, whence reinforcements could easily be sent against him, he continued his march to Kiratpur."[92]

Thus ended Guru Hargovind's career as a military adventurer. Forster says, "the vein of incongruous story which runs through the achievements of this militant priest precludes the derivation of any historical use."[93] This may be true if the Sikh records are taken by themselves; but, as we have seen above, they agree in many important points, and with regard to the general sequence of events almost entirely, with the scrappy account given in the *Dabistan*; and we believe that if they are handled carefully, they may yet yield very satisfactory results. Their attempt to give undue importance to the exploits of their Guru cannot possibly mislead us, for it is certain that Hargovind's adventures were, after all, what Irvine calls "a petty revolt"; otherwise they must have been noticed by contemporary Muhammadan writers.

(*To be continued.*)

85 Cunningham. *ibid.*, p, 58.

86 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 52.

87 *Dabistan,* vol. I., p. 275.

88 Irvine's *Later Moghuls*, p., 77.

89 Cunningham, *ibid.*, p. 58. The Sikh records make the issue a bit wider. A Sikh named Chitar Sain made the Guru a present of a horse, a hawk, a dress and some military weapons. Hargovind gave the hawk to his son Gurditta and the rest to Painda Khan, whose son-in-law Asman Khan took possession of these with the help of Painda Khan's wife and in addition stole Gurditta's hawk. When asked about the hawk, Painda Khan denied that it was in his house and the Guru drove him out. (Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 190-193. *Panth Prakash*, p. 118. See also Narang, *ibid.*, p. 59, foot-note.)

90 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 198-212; *Panth Prakash*, pp. 118-119; *Itihas Guru Khalsa.*

91 *Dabistan*, vol. IV, p. 263; *Panth Prakash*, p. 119.

92 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 263; *Panth Prakash*, p. 119.

93 *Forster's Travels*, vol. I, p. 259

KANNADA POETS.

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

IN 1924 the Government Press, Madras, published Memoir No. 13 of the *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India,* entitled "Kannada Poets mentioned in the Inscriptions". The author of the Memoir is Mr. Tirumala Tâtâchârya Sharman, and the Editor is Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Shastri, Government Epigraphist. The memoir is intended to form a supplement to the two important volumes of *Lives of Kannada Poets,* by the late S. G. Narasimhacharya and Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya, by rescuing from oblivion the names of some other Kannaḍa poets who are mentioned in South Indian inscriptions. The work, which is based upon epigraphical reports and literature and on Kanarese inscriptions, is decidedly important for students of Indian history and Indian literature; but as it is published, except for the author's preface, entirely in the Kanarese language, it is practically of little value to any students, except those who happen to have learnt Kanarese, or are fortunate enough to own that language as their mother-tongue. In the belief that others besides the true Kannaḍigas may be interested in Mr. Sharman's excellent work, I propose to give in this article a *prêcis* of the information contained in the Memoir, omitting the quotations which are included by the author in his notice of each poet, and curtailing the several accounts as far as is possible without harming the meaning of the original. I trust that I have not been guilty of mistranslation of any passage; but if I have, I can only ask pardon of Mr. T. T. Sharman, whose own conciseness and clarity of style embolden me to think that I have succeeded in correctly interpreting his statements. Mr. Sharman's work is well documented; but as this article does not claim to be a literal translation, I have omitted his many footnotes and references.

The following are the Kannaḍa poets discussed in the Memoir:—

1. Divâkara. circa A.D. 734.

The name of this poet is mentioned, as writer or composer, in an inscription discovered at Dharmapur in Salem District, which eulogises a very learned Shaiva Guru named Vidyârâshi. Incidentally the inscription proves that the original name of Dharmapur was Tagaḍur,—a town, which as early as the epoch of the Tamil *Sangham* was famous for its wealth, its fortifications, its palaces, pleasure-gardens and temples, and which gave shelter to both Jains and Shaiva Hindus.

The inscription bears no date; but this can be determined with the help of another inscription found at Koḍumbai or Koḍumbâlur in Pudukota State, which contains a dynastic list of the rulers of that place. Mr. Sharman is not disposed to accept the opinion of Rao Bahadur Venkayyana that this Koḍumbâlur inscription belongs to the tenth century A.D. He points out that the dynastic list includes a ruler named Bhutivikramakesari, who is stated in the inscription to have built a *math* for a chief Guru, Mallikarjuna of Madura, who was a disciple of the Gurus Vidyârâshi and Taporâshi; and he reasonably assumes that the Vidyârâshi, who was Mallikarjuna's spiritual preceptor, is identical with the Shaiva Guru Vidyârâshi eulogised in the Tagaḍur (Dharmapur) inscription.

The dynastic list also shows that Bhutivikramakesari's grandfather, Paradurggamardana, conquered Vâtâpi and bore the title (*biruda*) of 'Vatâpinagaradvaṁsa.' He must, therefore, have been a contemporary of the Châlukya Pulakesi II and the Pallava Narasiṁhavarma I; for it is an established fact that Narasiṁhavarma, the Pallava, led an army against Vâtâpi and destroyed it. Two of his generals on this occasion were Mânavamma, the Ceylonese prince, and Shiruttondanâyanâr; a third was Paradurggamardana, who probably assumed the above-mentioned title to commemorate the attack upon the Châlukyas.

Paradurggamardana's son was Samarâbhirâma, who bore the title of 'Yaduvaṁsaketu,' and, like his father, was hostile to the Châlukyas. He actually killed a Châlukya king near Adhirâjamaṅgala. After the fall of Vâtâpi the Châlukya power certainly declined, and

Vikramâditya I made serious efforts to restore it. His defeat of the Pallavas followed a fruitless attempt by his elder brother, Âdityavarma, to do the same, and it seems probable that on his march against the Pallavas, Âdityavarma may have come in contact with Samarâbhirâma in the neighbourhood of Adhirâjamangala and have been slain by the latter in the course of a battle at that place.

This Samarâbhirâma's son was Bhutivikramakesari, who, unlike his father and grandsire, opposed the Pallavas and won a victory over them on the banks of the Kâveri. He also conquered a Pâṇḍya king, Vîra Paṇḍya, and destroyed Vanjivel. Now it is a fact that during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. the Châlukyas of Vâtâpi and the Pallavas engaged in a prolonged struggle for the hegemony of Southern India. Bhutivikramakesari was two generations later than Paradurggamardana, who had a share in the destruction of Vâtâpi. Therefore he cannot have belonged to a period later than that of Vikramâditya II, however late we may place him ; and if he was not a contemporary of Vinayâditya and Vijayâditya, which is not likely, he must have been a contemporary of Vikramâditya II, who came to the throne about A.D. 734.

The natural inference from the above facts is that Bhutivikramakesari, Mallikarjuna, Vidyârâshi, Divâkara, and Vikramâditya II were all contemporaries, and the Tagaḍur (Dharmapura) inscription must belong to the eighth century A.D. This is rendered more probable by a study of the language of the inscription, which contains old Kannaḍa terminations, such as *baredon, vannipom, bannipom.* These words make it practically certain that the inscription cannot be of later date than the eighth century.

The inscription gives no further information about the poet Divâkara, who, except for this composition, is unkown to fame. All we can say is that he was a Shaiva and a pupil of Vidyârâshi, whose praises he sings in ornate verse.

2. Gunavarma. circa A.D. 905.

This poet is mentioned as author in an inscription of Srî Vijayadaṇḍanâtha in Dânavulpâḍu village, Cuddapah District. He is described as *Anupamakaviya Senabhovam,* and those who have studied the inscription admit that he was no ordinary poet. The inscription belongs to the period of the Râshṭrakuta king, Indra III, whose date has been fixed at *circa* A.D. 905 ; and on that account Mr. T. T. Sharman identifies the composer of the inscription with a Gunavarma who wrote a book entitled *Shudraka*, in which he eulogises a Ganga ruler, bearing several titles (*biruda*) including that of 'Mahendrântaka'. The Ganga king who bore this title was Ereyappa, and he is stated in *Lives of the Kannaḍa Poets* to have been the patron of Guṇavarma. Ereyappa ruled up to A.D. 913. The identity of Ereyappa's court-poet with the author of the Dânavulpâḍu inscription seems clearly established.

3. Kamalâditya. circa A.D. 980.

He composed an inscription of the time of Taila II, which exists at Sogal, Belgaum District, and records the fact that a female devotee named Kancheyabbe or Kanchale bestowed charitable gifts upon a sacred place of pilgrimage known as Suvarnâkshi. In the inscription Sogal is called 'Soval,' 'Solu,' and 'Sol'; and the concluding portion of one of the couplets names Kamalâditya as the author of the record. No further information is given about him ; but from the fact that some lines are devoted to praise of Śiva and the Śaiva sages, we may conclude that the poet was a Śaiva. He also extols Taila II and Katta, *scil* Kartavîrya I, who was in sole control of the Koṇḍi or Kuṇḍi District. This indicates that Kamalâditya was under royal patronage ; and quite possibly was the court-poet of Kartavîrya I. The inscription is dated 901 Śâlivâhan Saka, and this fact, coupled with the references to Taila II and Kartavîrya I, establishes the date of Kamalâditya with practical certainty.

4. Nâgavarma. circa A.D. 1047.

Nâgavarma was the composer of an inscription which is to be seen in Somalingeśvara's temple in Mailâr village, Haḍagali *tâluka*, Bellary District. It records the fact that in Śaka

968 Kâlima Ayya or Kâlidâsa, a ruling feudatory of the Châlukya king Trailokyamalla Somesvara I), made religious donations to certain gods through the disciples of Paṇḍits Maulimaḍuvu and Tejorâshi. The excellence of the composition proves that Nâgavarma must have been a pre-eminent master of poetry. Kâlidâsa's achievements in particular are admirably described.

Kâlima or Kâlidâsa is eulogised in two other inscriptions,—one belonging to the period of Trailokyamalla, which faces a sixty-pillared temple in Nâgai, Nizam's Dominions, and the other belonging to the period of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramâditya, which is on the wall of a ruined temple opposite the temple of Siva. In the latter the epithets *Sâhityavidyâvitarkkam* and *Vâksatîkarṇâvataṁsaṁ* are applied to the ruler Kâlima: in the former, which describes the family, deeds of prowess, and other particulars of the general Kâlidâsa, the same two epithets are applied to him.

5. Indrakîrti. circa A.D. 1055.

Near a shed in front of the Jain temple of Kogali in Bellary District is an inscription dated Saka 977 of the reign of Trailokyamalla, which records that the temple was constructed in former days by a Gaṅga ruler named Durvinîta, and that at the date of the inscription gifts were made to the temple by a Jain *achârya* named Indrakîrti.

Indrakîrti is described in the inscription in the following phrases :—*Śri-madaruhachcharaṅasarasimha bhṛiṅga* ; *koṇḍakundânvayasamuha-mukhamaṇḍana* ; *Dêsîyagaṇa-kumudavanasarachchandra* ; *Kokalipurendra* ; *Trailokyamalla-sadasarasi-kalahaṁsa*. Moreover, the epithets applied to him in the inscription, *e.g.*, *Kavi-janâchârya*, *Paṇḍitamukhâmburuha-chaṇḍamârtaṇḍa*, *Sarvaśâstrajña*, *Kavikumudarâja*, etc., indicate that he must have been an excellent poet—a supposition which is fully corroborated by the fine diction of the inscription. In one place he is also called *Trailokyamallendra-kîrti-Harimûrti*. No information is available as to the books which he wrote.

6. Râvapayya. circa A.D. 1059.

All that is known about Râvapayya is that he was Kulkarṇi of Suṇḍi, modern Sûḍi in Ron taluka, Dharwar District, and that he composed the inscription dated Saka 981, of the time of Somesvara I (Trailokyamalla), which appears on a stone to the right of a temple with two domes in that village. During the rule of the Châlukyas of Kalyâṇ, Suṇḍi was the capital of the Kisukâḍe 'seventy.' The inscription contains a stanza relating to Somesvara's prime minister and *daṇḍanâyaka*, Nâgadeva. The poetry of the inscription is very fine, and the style of writing admirable : the inscription is in fact a poem. We know nothing more about the author, however, save the fact that in another inscription he is described as *Bhâskaradâsa* and *Ìshvarapâdâbjabhramara*.

7. Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. circa A.D. 1053.

The Madras Museum possesses a copper-plate received from the Collector of Godâvari District, which states that the Eastern Châlukya ruler Râjarâja Narendra in his thirty-second regnal year bestowed Nandampoṇḍi village upon a Brahman named Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The grant, which is in verse, declares that Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa belonged to the Hârita *gotra*, and followed the Apastamba *sutra* ; his paternal great-grandfather was Kañchenasomayâji, his grandfather Kañchenârya, his father Akalaṅkâsaṅkanâmâtya, and his mother Sâmekâmba. He was well versed in Sanskrit, Kanarêse, Prakrit, Paisacha, and Telugu, and bore various titles, such as 'Kavirâjasekhara,' 'Kavibhavajrâṅkuśa,' 'Ashṭâdaśâvadhâraṇachakravarti' and 'Sarasvatîkarṇâvataṁsa.'

The poet-author of the grant is one Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, and Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that he is identical with Nannaya Bhaṭṭâraka who wrote the *Ândhrabhârata* and other works.

Now at the beginning of his *Bhârata* Nannaya Bhaṭṭâraka has written :—

'Pâyaka Pâkaśâsaniki bhârataghora ranambunandu Nârâyaṇunaṭlu vanasadhara-mara vaṁśa vibhushanuṇḍu Nâ |
râyaṇa Bhaṭṭu vaṅgmayadhurandharurḍu tanakishṭûrḍu sahâdhyâyiyunaina-vaḍabhimatambuga doḍayi nirvahimparga ||'

This proves beyond any doubt that the Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa mentioned in Nandampoṇḍi copper-plate, who was styled 'Kavirâjaśekhara' and 'Kavibhavajraṅkuśa,' is identical with Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa who assisted Nannaya to compose the *Ândhrabhârata*.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Kanarese poetry flourished greatly. The Châlukyas being natives of the Kannaḍa country, Kanarese books must have been in much demand in Vengi. Âdipampa, Nâgavarma and others born in Ândhradeśa gained great renown as Kanarese poets. It is possible that Râjarâja Narendra ordered his court-poet Nannaya Bhaṭṭâraka to compose an *Ândhrabhârata* comparable to the *Bhâratas* which had been published in Vengi; and perhaps, who knows, he conceived the idea of a *Kannaḍa Bhârata*. Anyhow the *Ândhra Bhârata* was composed according to the royal order; and Nârâyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who was Nannaya Bhaṭṭâraka's fellow-student, assisted him to write it.

8. Śrî Kanṭhasuri. circa A.D. 1099.

He is mentioned, as author, in an inscription belonging to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla [*scil* Vikramâditya VI] which stands near the temple of Kalleśvara at Kuruvatti in Bellary District. The inscription states that in Châlukya Vikrama year 24, *i.e.*, A.D. 1099, two hundred *mahajans* of Kuruvatti, Kâlidâsa, the ruler of that place, and his sons, made a gift of land and of the duties levied on the eastern road on such commodities as grass, wood, vegetables, fruit, etc., for the support of ascetics (*tapodhanarâhâradânakka*) and the enjoyment of the god Abhinava-Someśvara (*abhinavasomeśvaradevaraṅgabhogakkaṁ*). Kanṭhasuri's poetry, as exemplified in the inscription, is very sweet (*vâksudhe*).

9. Madhusudanadeva. circa A.D. 1148.

At Koṭṇakallu in Haḍagali *taluka*, Bellary District, is an inscription of the eleventh year (Śaka 1070) of the prosperous reign of Jagadekamalla II. It records the fact that Vikramâditya, maternal uncle of Vîra Pâṇḍya, a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, made a permanent assignment (*dattiyannu biṭṭu*) to the *svayambhu* deity Koṭishankar enshrined on the southern bank of the Tuṅga(bhadra ?). One of the verses of the inscription declares that Madhusudana composed the portion describing the virtues of Vikramâditya, the prowess of Vîra Pâṇḍya, and showing the descent of Jagadekamalla II from Taila II. It is also clear that Madhusudana was a court-poet enjoying the protection of Vîra Pâṇḍya.

[NOTE—This poet is mentioned in *Lives of the Kannaḍa Poets*, by R. B. Narasiṁhâchârya. Vol. I, pp. 130-132.] [The feudatory Vîra Paṇḍya appears to be the same as Vîra Pâṇḍyadeva who ruled the Noḷambavâḍi district as feudatory of Someśvara III. (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*.)]

10. Bijjaya Nâyaka. circa. A.D. 1172.

In the independent Jâṭh principality of the Bijapur Political Agency is a village named Mâḍagihâl, called in olden time Mâlige and Mâlikapur. In front of the temple of Mahâdeva in this village is an inscription containing the following information :—In the Taṛikâḍ District of Kuntala was a city called Mangaliveḍa, whose ruler was Kannama. His son was Râja, who in turn had three sons, Ammagi, Saṅkama, and Jogama. Jogama had a son Hemmaḍi and Hemmaḍi's son was Bijjala, who founded the Kâlachuri dynasty. Bijjala's son was Râyamurâri Soyi, under whose protection dwelt the courtier Bijjaya Nâyaka. In Sâlivâhan 1093 this Bijjaya Nâyaka constructed a temple of Somnâtheśvara in his lord's name, and in his own name a temple of Bijjeśvara, as well as a lake in the precincts of the latter.

The poetry of the inscription is admirable and deserving of close study, but the name of the author is nowhere mentioned. On the other hand Bijjaya Nâyaka is belauded in several places. Thus, for example, it is stated that the wise have bestowed upon Bijjaya Nâyaka the epithets 'Varṇṇakavi' and 'Kannaḍajâna.' Another verse indicates that Bijjaya Nâyaka was both principal minister and court-poet of Râyamurâri Soyi.

The distinctive word 'Kannaḍajâna' appears in several verses. The authors of *Lives of the Kannaḍa Poets* have quoted several verses containing this word, which they consider may be the special epithet of certain poets, as it appears at the end of their compositions. They cannot however decide to which or what particular poets the epithet was applied, but suggest that they belong roughly to the period about A.D. 1500. Now considering that Bijjaya Nâyaka, as is shown by the Mâdagihâl inscription, was a renowned poet and was dubbed 'Varṇṇakavi' and 'Kannaḍajâna' by the wise, is it out of place to suggest that the author of verses bearing the distinctive word 'Kannaḍajâna' was none other than Bijjaya Nâyaka? If this theory is accepted, we shall have to carry the holder of the epithet back from A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1172. Of what works Bijjaya Nâyaka was the author, we unfortunately have no knowledge whatever.

11. Bhâskara. circa A.D. 1127.

Near the Subehdar's *Kacheri* in Paṭṭanacheru, in the Nizam's Dominions, is an incription of the Chalukya Bhulokamalla Someśvara (*scil.* Someśvara III), written in Chalukya Vikrama year 51 (=A.D. 1127), which records that on the occasion of his formal installation on the throne Someśvara made a gift of land to the astrologer Nanneya Bhaṭṭa, for having fixed an auspicious hour for this great festival. One of the verses of the inscription, which is an ornate composition, declares that one Bhâskara was the author.

12. Bhâskara. circa A.D. 1186.

An inscription (Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915, No. 546) records that when Mâlaparasa, the invincible Daṇḍanâyaka of the Chalukya Someśvara, was ruling the 'Sindavâdi thousand,' he made in Śaka 1108 an irrevocable gift of certain land revenues for the maintenance of a lamp to be kept always alight as an offering to the God Śrî Mallikarjuna in Nandâpur. The concluding verse of the inscription states that it was composed by Bhâskara, who is described as 'Sukavipadmaprabhâkaro,' and is also given the title of 'Kukavimukhamudra' (' the seal on the lips of bad poets '). Bhâskara was an accomplished scholar of both Sanskrit and Kanarese. The inscription gives no further information about him.

13. Udayâditya. circa A.D. 1198.

A certain Udayâditya, whoever he may be, described as 'Vasudhânâthana Somanâthana Sutaṁ Cholodayâdityaṁ' and 'Somamahîbhṛinnandanaṁ,' wrote an Alaṅkâra work entitled *Udayâdityâlaṅkâra* [*Lives of Kannaḍa Poets*, vol. I, pp. 132—3]. It appears that he was the son of a Chôḷa king, Somanâtha, and that he ruled after a formal coronation. The authors of *Lives of Kannaḍa Poets* suggest A.D. 1150 approximately as the date of this poet.

In the north-western wall of the enclosure of the famous temple of Rameshwar in Tâḍpatri town, Bellary District, is an inscription containing the following information (Madras Epigraph : Collection for 1892. No. 338). A Mahârâja Udayâditya, 'scion of the royal and famous Lunar race,' (*Bhuvanaprakhyâta somânvyajanita*), was governing his territory in the palace of Tâṭipârrapur (Tâḍpatri), which was the capital of Pennapari-nâḍu. Udayâditya's father was Somadeva. On the occasion of a solar eclipse on Thursday the 15th Mâgh, Saka 1120, Kâlayukta Saṁvatsara, Udayâditya "made a grant of inam land for the repair of the dilapidated shrine of the gods Chandranâtha and Parshvanâtha and for defraying the cost of the prescribed worship and for expenses of food, etc." These facts show that the author of the Alaṅkâra work must be this Mahârâja Udayâditya.

[Note by H. Krishna Śâstri. "But the inscription nowhere mentions the *Chola* Udayâditya, nor is there any reference to this Udayâditya being a poet. Again, the Chôḷas were of Solar, *not* Lunar, descent. The Udayâditya praised in the inscription is of Lunar race (*Somânvayajanita*), and his father is styled 'Kaḷigaṅga' and 'Gaṅgâvanipâla.']

The authors of *Lives of Kannaḍa Poets* are of opinion that the Chôḷa Udayâditya cannot have been independent, but must have been the feudatory of some paramount ruler. But if we bear in mind the words of the *praśasti*, viz. :—

'Svastyanekasamarasanghaṭṭasañjata-vijayalakshmîsamalingita-viśâlavakshasthalam kshatriyapavitra bhuvanatriṇetra naudumbarâbharanaṁ Paṇḍyagajakesari kulukaḍepuravarâdhîśvaraṁ ashṭamahâsiddhi siddhavaṭadevadivyaśrîpâda padmarâdhaka parabalasâdhakanâmâdisamasta prasashtisahitaṁ śrîmanmahâmaṇḍalesvaraṁ Trailokyamaḷḷa bhujabala vîranârâyaṇa pratâpa kumâranudayâditya.'

and if we remember also the fact that he is styled 'Udayâditya Mahârâja,' that one of his epithets is 'Trailokyamalla,' and lastly the fact that he gives nowhere in the inscription the name of any paramount lord, it is a reasonable inference that the princes of Udayâditya's line were originally feudatories of the Châlukyas of Kalyan, *but* subsequently became independent rulers of Pennapari-nâḍu.

On the decline of the Chôḷa power, several of the representatives of this dynasty became subordinate to the Chalukyas. But as the might of the Chalukyas, in its turn, gradually waned, several of their feudatories became independent. The Chôḷa Udayâditya was probably one of those who thus asserted their independence.

14. Lakshmîdhara and Madhura. A.D. 1410.

In a *mandap* near the temple of Krishna, half-way between Kamalâpur and Hampe, is an inscription (Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1889, No. 38), which records that on Thursday in Phâlguṇ, Virodhi Saṁvat, Saka 1332, Lakshmîdhara, prime minister of Deva Raya [I of Vijayanagar] installed the god Mahâgaṇanâtha (Śiva) with full festal ceremonial in a cave on the south side of Mâḷya hill, which stands in the eastern portion of Pampakshetra.

In the final portion of the inscription it is stated that Madhura, the Ornament of Eminent Poets, wrote these auspicious tidings for the glorification of the minister Lakshmîdhara, so long as Sun and Moon shall endure. It is our task to discuss the personality of Lakshmîdhara, who was responsible for the inscription, and of Madhura who composed it.

It is stated in *Lives of Kannaḍa Poets* that one Madhura was the author of several works, including *Dharmanâthana Purâṇa* and *Gummaṭâshṭaka*. "He was a Jain of Vâji family of the Bhâradvâja *gotra* ; his father was Vishṇu, his mother Nâgâmbika. He was under the patronage and protection of Muddadaṇḍeshvar, minister of Harihara Raya, son of Bukka Raya. As he is styled 'Crest jewel of the Court of Bhunâtha,' he must have been Harihara's court-poet." We are also told in the above-mentioned work that Madhura bore the following titles (*birudas*), "Darling of the Fine Arts," "Glory of Royal Poets," "Honey of Song," "Melodious," "Spring of Master Poets," "Ocean of Knowledge," etc.

The inscription mentioned above informs us that Lakshmîdhara, minister of Deva Raya, gave to Madhura, Jewel of Eminent Poets, a goodly piece of land, elephants, horses, jewels, etc., and most affectionately supported him.

Readers may ask what connexion, if any, there is between the Madhura mentioned in the *Lives of Kannaḍa Poets*, who was the protégé of Muddadaṇḍeshvar, Harihara's Minister, and the Madhura of the inscription, who was the protégé of Lakshmîdhara, minister of Deva Raya.

At the end of the inscription Madhura devotes a stanza to describing himself in certain phrases and terms. Similarly the Madhura of the *Lives of Kannaḍa Poets* describes the graces and attractions of his own poetry in a stanza, which is quoted in that work. A comparison of these two stanzas shows that, with the single exception of the fourth line. they are word for word identical.

As regards the fourth line, Madhura of the *Lives of the Poets* styles himself " Karṇâṭaka-lakshaṇa-bhâshâ kavirâjanaṁ pravilasadvâṇî-mukhâmbhojanaṁ." Madhura of the inscription describes his poetic ability in the same terms in the fourth line and adds that, as Lakshmîdhara has become his patron, he purposely uses the phrase " Lakshmaṇapâda-sarojanaṁ pravilasaddhâtrî mukhâmbhojanaṁ." It seems therefore fairly certain that Madhura who is ' Karṇâṭaka-lakshaṇa-bhâshâ-kavirâja ' and the Madhura who calls himself ' Nirnîtakarṇâta-Lakshmaṇapâda-sarojanaṁ ' are one and the same poet. It is obvious that in addition to having been a protégé of Muddadaṇḍeshvar, Madhura had become the recipient of the liberal patronage of Lakshmîdhara.

Moreover he describes himself as ' Madhura Kavendra Bhunâthâsthâna-chuḍâmaṇi ' (the eminent poet Madhura, ornament of the court of Bhunâtha), and in giving details in the inscription of Deva Raya's lineage, he indulges in various eulogies of that ruler. From this fact we may conclude that Madhura was also Deva Raya's poet-laureate.

Madhura's works are not easy to obtain. This inscription is essentially a short poem, and contains all the distinctive features of true poetry. The attractiveness of his style can best be seen in the portion of the inscription devoted to a sketch of Lakshmîdhara.

He first tells us that Lakshmîdhara was the prime minister of Devaraya. He styles him ' The true poet Lakshmîdhara,' ' The chief of poets, Lakshmaṇa, ' etc., in several places. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Lakshmîdhara was not only a real friend to learning and an active supporter of learned men, but was also himself an eminent poet. Unfortunately we know none of his writings, though there are grounds for supposing that among his works were the *Kṛishṇalîlâ*, *Ânanda Râmâyaṇa*, and *Nîtivakyâmṛita*.

Madhura gives an instance of Lakshmîdhara's keenness and efficiency in the administration of public affairs. Certain bad characters once resolved to assassinate Deva Raya, and armed with keen weapons approached the entrance of the royal chamber. Lakshmîdhara heard of the plot, and heeding not of the strength of the enemy, with great daring turned the tables on the miscreants and saved his royal master's life.

BOOK-NOTICES.

BOOKS IN SANSKRIT: 1. TANTRARAHASYA, by RAMANUJACHARYA, edited by DR. SHAMA SASTRI, Mysore. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 24.) Price Rs. 1-8-0.

It is well known that the Baroda State is publishing a useful and scholarly series of Sanskrit books. The book under review is a hand-book to the great study of the *Mimaṁsa Sutras*. It is evidently a work attributed to Ramanujacharya, a Brahman of the Godavari district, belonging to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. It consists of five chapters, dealing respectively with the theory of knowledge from the point of view of the Mimaṁśakas, a categorical examination of things known, such as the element of caste system, the authority of the Vedas to realise religious ideals as distinct from secular ones, the rules and regulations laid down in a *Śastra* or a law treatise, and lastly the correct interpretation of these laws in the light of reason. This book is edited by Dr. Shama Sastri, the pioneer publisher of that extant work Kautilya's *Arthaśaśtra*. The price is comparatively cheap, so as to place it within the reach of ordinary students of Sanskrit.

2. PARAŚURÂMA KALPA SÛTRAM in two parts. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series Nos. XXII and XXIII) Price Part I, Rs. 7 and Part II, Rs. 4. Edited by MR. A. MAHADEVA SASTRI, Adyar, Madras.

The first part contains the *Sutra* with *Vritti*, while the second one the *Nityotsava*. The book is published with the commentary of Rameswara. This work, in the words of the editor, is ' a digest of *Śrîvidya*, a system of Divine Mother's worship ' and is attributed to the authorship of one Paraśurâma. Whether this learned author is the famous Paraśurâma of the Râmâyaṇa, it is for future research to decide. The method and arrangement are all well thought out and in order. The commentary is quite a useful one for those who can not understand the peculiar technical expressions used by the author. The first part contains ten chapters dealing in minute detail with the various means and methods of that cult-worship, while the second part or the *Nityôtsava* has seven chapters. The book is very valuable to the followers of the Śakti, and other allied cults. The printing and the get up are excellent.

3. CATALOGUE OF MSS. IN JESALMERE BHANDARS. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXI. Edited by MR. L. B. GANDHI. Price Rs. 3-4-0.

This hand-book is a catalogue of manuscripts and books in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere. The most difficult portion of the work, namely, its compilation, goes to the credit of that well-known scholar C. D. Dalal, M.A. The first European scholars to examine these Bhandars were Drs. Bühler and Jacobi. Nearly three decades after their visit, D. R. Bhandarkar made an extensive tour throughout Rajaputana in search of more manuscripts from 1904-6. It was the late Mr. Dalal, a Jain himself, who visited Jesalmere in 1916 and is responsible for this comprehensive list. The first seventy pages of the book deal with the minor works found in general. Then the manuscripts in the big Bhandar are analysed—347 palm leaf MSS. and 18 paper ones. In the Tapagacha Bhandar 28 MSS. both palm leaf and paper, in the Dungaraji Yati 22 MSS., and in the Thimsaha Bhandar four MSS. are given. It is on the whole a useful compendium for those interested in Sanskrit literature.

V.R.R.

The Glories of Magadha, by J. N. Samaddar. Patna University Readership Lectures. 1922.

The inhabitants and workers in 'Magadha' have reason to be proud of their native land and one cannot grumble at the title of this little book—so very much that has been great in India has come from this portion of it. Prof. J. N. Samaddar has already won for himself golden opinions by his Calcutta University lectures on the economic condition of Ancient India, and he now follows them up by equally informing and in their way delightful lectures on Magadha—the land of the Mauryas, the first Indians to combine and of Asoka and his Buddhism, of the great Buddhist University of Nalanda. Magadha has, indeed, done many things for India.

Professor Samaddar is, of course, going over old ground, but he does it well and has at times something new to which to draw our attention, though personally I cannot agree with everything that he says. The part of the book that has interested me most is the account of the Royal University of Vikramaśîlâ founded by the Buddhist Dharmapâla in the ninth century A.D. Not much is known of this ancient university and what Prof. Samaddar has to say is most interesting.

R. C. Temple.

Pallava Architecture, Part I, Early Period. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. No. 17. By A. H. Longhurst. Simla, Government of India Press, 1924.

This issue deals with the early period of Pallava Architecture and is more valuable for its architectural information than for its historical, as the author has not availed himself of the latest work on the latter subject. He divides the architecture into four styles: (1) Mahêndra, 610-640 A.D.; (2) Mâmalla, 640-674 A.D.; (3) Râjasiṁha, 674-800 A.D.; (4) Nandivarman, 800-900 A.D. Both the names and the dates attributed are the author's own.

To the Mahêndra style he attributes the cave-temples in the country round Kânchîpuram (Conjeeveram), *i.e.*, Tondamaṇḍalam. To the Mâmalla style, cave temples, *rathas* or free monolithic temples, and rock sculptures are attributed. To this architecture belong the Seven Pagodas and the great Śiva cave temple at Trichinopoly. To the Râjasiṁha style are ascribed stone- and brick-built temples dedicated to Śiva as Somaskanda. To the Nandivarman style are attributed apsidal-ended temples approaching the Chola style. On this division of his subject the author describes in detail various examples of the Pallava buildings in the Mahendra style. There are twenty splendid plates attached to the descriptions. Altogether a valuable piece of work has been accomplished.

R. C. Temple.

The Early History of Bengal, by F. J. Monahan. Oxford University Press. 1925.

The late Mr. Monahan of the Indian Civil Service proposed to himself to compose a History of Bengal, the province in which he served, and for this purpose he collected much material, which, however, was never published, beyond what was contained in some lectures printed in *Bengal, Past and Present.* He died in 1923, leaving behind him complete for publication only the first portion of his studies, which is now produced by his friend Sir John Woodroffe.

This "early history" of Bengal is, however, really a study of the history of the Mauryan Empire and as such it does not seem to contain much that is new to the old student, but it has one commanding recommendation. It gives in a small space and in an orderly manner all the evidence available for the statements made in the general books on the period. For this the earnest student cannot be too grateful, and he should always keep such a book with him, as here he has to his hand the actual evidence he should require.

A great portion of the book is taken up with the *Kauṭilîya Arthaśâstra* on the administration of the period, and the only word of caution I would offer here is that it is quite possible that we have in the statements found in the *Kauṭilîya Arthaśâstra* what the author and his school thought ought to be the method of administering the Empire rather than what it really was. It may have been merely a book of advice.

The Chapters on the Greek evidence as to Mauryan Institutions and on the Aśokan Inscriptions are beyond praise.

R. C. Temple.

PERSIAN LOAN-WORDS IN THE RAMAYAN OF TULSIDAS, by BABURAM SAKSENA.

This is a most welcome little pamphlet, excerpted from some Journal, though, except the pagination (63-75), there is nothing to show this. It relates to the words adapted by Tulsidâs from Persian into Awadhi, and shows that they were used to represent things newly introduced, as terms of address to the noble classes, as 'elegancies' by the gentry, for military or legal purposes, or for abuse or depreciation. Just such words as one would expect.

Such loan words were assimilated by Tulsîdâs in the usual ways, *i.e.*, by substitution of Awadhî sounds for alien Persian sounds, and by otherwise fitting the borrowed words for use in Awadhî speech. Tulsîdâs had also to fit the foreign words into his metre. This fitting of the Persian words to his purpose, moreover, obliged him to make a few grammatical changes and in some cases to give them a gender. In fact, he treated the loan words just as do the speakers of every other language. Nevertheless, one is grateful to Prof. Saksena for the list of the Persian borrowings which he gives and for showing us exactly how Tulsîdâs managed to adapt them to his own language.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SUBJECT INDEX TO PERIODICALS, 1921. Issued by the Library Association. I. Language and Literature, Pt. 1, Classical, Oriental and Primitive. December 1924. London, Grafton and Co., 51 Great Russell St., London.

This is a further issue of this most useful publication where the student can find all that is produced in the current Journals and Periodical on his subject if it is connected with Languages and Literature I cannot speak too highly of it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

"DIWANI."

May I enquire if any of your Readers can help me to solve the following historical difficulty ?

One of the most important steps in the development of the territorial sovereignty of the British in Bengal was their acquisition in 1765 A.D. of the "Diwani" in the three Mughal provinces of Bengal, Bihar *and Orissa.* A separate *Firman* was issued by the Emperor Shah Alam, granting the Diwani in each of these provinces. Even in 1759 A.D. when Clive first mooted the subject of acquiring the "Diwani", he spoke of obtaining possession of all three provinces.

But, in actual fact, the province of Orissa had been in the hands of the Marathas since 1751 A.D. The nominal sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor was, indeed, preserved for a short time. But in 1757 A.D., as Sir W. Hunter tells us (*Orissa* II, 31), "a Maratha obtained the undisguised governorship, and from that date till 1803 Orissa remained a Maratha province."

The usual explanation of the grant by the Emperor of the "Diwani" in regard to a province which had passed to the Marathas is that *some portions* of Orissa were still in 1765 available for transfer to the British and were not under the Marathas. Thus Vincent Smith writes (*Oxford History of India,* page 503): "Shah Alam was further directed to grant the Company the Diwani of the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The province last named then included only Midnapur and part of Hoogly district—the rest of Orissa and Cuttack being in Maratha hands since 1751 A.D." In this he seems to have followed a statement to the same effect by Baden Powell (*Land Systems of British India*, I, pages 392 and 473). But Midnapur had, as far back as 1706 A.D., been taken from Orissa and annexed to Bengal—(Hunter's *Orissa* II, p. 29 and Appendices, p. 197. He follows Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 370). If Midnapur was a part of Bengal, then Hoogly to the east of Midnapur must also have been included in that province, and the explanation given by Vincent Smith and Baden Powell for the grant of the "Diwani" in Orissa apparently falls to the ground.

I would be grateful if any one could give me the correct explanation why the British in 1765 demanded the "Diwani" of Orissa. Was it merely part of the British design to expel the Marathas from Orissa (see Grant Duff, page 650, beginning of Chapter XXIII), which was subsequently abandoned ?

C. WILLS.

NOTE ON MR. WILLS' LETTER.

It seems quite natural that the English should have demanded the *Diwani* of Orissa : for they were taking the place of the Nawab (of Bengal), under whose authority Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa had long been grouped together. The Cuttack portion was certainly in the hands of the Marathas : but this was only in virtue of an agreement made with Ali Verdi Khan in 1751 [see Grant Duff, ed. Edwardes, 1921, vol. I. p. 457] and they were nominally tenants of the Nawab. It is within the bounds of possibility that Clive may have wished to keep the French or others from settling in Cuttack district ; but there is no direct evidence to that effect.

JOINT EDITOR,
Indian Antiquary.

MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

FROM THE COLLECTION MADE BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

Prefatory Note.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

AMONG the papers left behind by Dr. William Crooke was a collection of Hindu and Muhammadan marriage songs (27 Hindu and 3 Muhammadan) from various districts in Northern India. Some of them are of peculiar value. For instance, there are a complete set of Hindu songs from the Mirzâpur District from the commencement to the end of the marriage ceremonies, and two incomplete sets from the Itâwâ District. There are also two sets of songs at the nail-paring ceremony : one attributed to Tulasî Dâsa and the other from the Mainpurî District. And lastly there are seven separate Hindu songs connected with various marriage ceremonies from different places and districts of Northern India. Three Muhammadan songs are further in the collection.

They will all be given now with text and translation.

I.

Hindu marriage songs of Mirzapur.

This set of eight songs were told and recorded by Râjkalî, Head Mistress of the village girl-school at Kachhwâ in the Mirzapur district. It is valuable, as the set is complete from the commencement to the end of the marriage ceremonies.

1. The Phaldân song sung at the first betrothal.

It will be observed that this set of songs refers in a confused way to well-known incidents in the Hindu sacred classics relating to the marriage of Râmachandra, and have often no direct bearing on the matter in hand. The singing of them would therefore appear to be strictly conventional.

Text.

Manchiyâ baithîṅ Kaushalyâ Rânî ; sinhâsan Râjâ Dasrath ho.
" Are, Râm ke tilak charhawahu ; ab sukh dekhab ho."
Baur bhaitîṅ Kaushalyâ Deî : kin bhaurâwal ho ?
Ek din mualîṅ janam keṅ : ab jhankhaiṅ byâhan ke.
Haukaṛ nagârâ ke Biprâ begahiṅ chalî awahiṅ hoṅ.
Thârî jo bharalîṅ sopariyâṅ ; newatî deî âwo ho.
Newatahu argan pargan sagarî Ayodhyâ.
Ek jin newato Rânî Kekâî, jin apane garab se ho.
Sone kai kharanâṅ Râjâ Dasrath : hathwâṅ sumirinî liye ho.
Sone kai tilak, lilâr Kekâî manâwal ho.
Kekaî manai ; jangh baithai :—" kaun gunah ham kihal hamaro nahiṅ âya ho ? "
Mangan :—" ek ham mângahiṅ, jo ham pâwahiṅ ho ?
Râm Lakhan ban dehu ; Bharath karaiṅ râj ho."
Mangai ke " Rânî, mâṅgyo mâṅgahi na jânyo ho.
Mangailu prân adhâr Kaushalyâ kai bâlak ho."

Translation.

Kaushalyâ Rânî sat on her seat : Râjâ Dasrath on his royal throne.
" Ho you, mark Râm's forehead with the *tilak*, and then I shall have the pleasure of seeing him."
Kaushalyâ Rânî has become mad (with joy) : who has maddened her.
One day she was nearly dying at his birth : now she is bought and sold (for joy) at his marriage.
When the drums begin to play, the Brâhmans flock to the palace.
The dish is full of betel nut : take it away and distribute it.[1]

[1] By way of invitation.

Invite friends and neighbours and the people of Ayodhyâ and the *parganâ*.
But don't invite Rânî Kekâî ; she is very proud.
Râjâ Dasrath has golden sandals and in his hand a rosary.
He has a golden[2] *tilak*, and is trying to conciliate Kekâî.
He has soothed Kekâî and seated her on his thigh ; " what crime have I committed that you do not come to me ? "
Says she : " I wan't a boon if I can obtain it.
Send Râm and Lakhan to the forest, and let Bharat rule."
Says he : " Rânî, you know not what you ask,
You are demanding the son of Kaushalyâ Rânî, the guardian of my life."

2. The Nahacchu song, sung at the paring of the bridegroom's nails.

Text.

Ghar ghar phirai le nauniyâṅ ; " âju more Râm kai nahuchhu gotin sab âye ho."
Awailiṅ ainthali au itrâti alahin, pâte kai jâjim ; jhârî bichhâib ho.
Awalin gotin sau tin châr, sumangal gâwai lin ho.
Nanâ ke hâtheṅ naharanî, nauniyâṅ gorî
Râm kai badan nihârî, haṅsai mukh morî :—
" Kâhe gun Râm bhaye sâṅwar ? Kâhe gun Lakshman gor ho ? "
" Râm to haiṅ Râjâ Dasrath ke, aru Lakshman mor ho."
Rânî Kaushalyâ Deî kaise jiâye tapsi gaî tor ho ?
Lehalîṅ khainchhâ bhar dhebuâ besahaliṅ ghor ho.
Nanâ to chaṛhailâ ghoṛawâ, nauniyâṅ keṅ le gail choṛ ho.

Translation.

The barber's wife has gone round the houses :" come to the nail-paring of our Râm"
The clansmen come to the house, stately and proud : the carpet is spread.
Three or four hundred clansmen assemble and songs of joy are sung.
The barber has the nail-parer in his hand, and the barber's wife,
Seeing the body of Râm, laughs and turns back her face :
" Why is Râm swarthy ? Why is Lakshman fair ? "
" Râm belongs to Râjâ Dasrath, and Lakshman to us."
" How burning has your Rânî Kaushalyâ Deî become ? "
" Take your parer's full and mount your horse."
The barber mounted the horse, and the barber's wife stopped her abuse.

3. Marriage song, sung during the actual marriage ceremony.

The recorder of this song notes that it is really a call for help by the bride against the bridegroom to her father, and is therefore a survival of marriage by capture. She complains that the bridegroom is by force putting the red spot (the sign of the married state) into the parting of her hair. The bride sings :—

Text.

' Bâbâ, bâbâ ' goharâilâ : bâbâ ta bolaiṅ na ho.
Janghiyâṅ kî bariaiyâṅ sendur monkoṅ nâwaiṅ na ho.
Haṭiyâ meṅ sendurâ mahang bhailaiṅ, bâbâ ; chunari bhail anmol.
Ehî re, sendurwâ ke kâran chhoroṅ maiṅ des tohâr.

Translation.

' Father, Father[3]' I cry : but my father does not hear.
By his personal strength he is putting the *sendûr*[4] into the parting of my hair.

[2] *I.e.*, he has a saffron *tilak* on his forehead.

[3] The vernacular term may also read " grandfather."

[4] Red lead in the form of a round spot put on the forehead just below the parting of the hair: the sign of a married woman

In the market the price of *sendûr* is rising, father: coloured (marriage) garments are beyond price.
Ah me, on account of the *sendûr* I am leaving your country.

4. The Kaṇyâdân song, sung when the father gives his daughter solemnly to the bridegroom.

The gist of this song is that the father shudders when he has completed the marriage ceremony. The reason for his shuddering is the thoughts of the sacredness of the union accomplished and the great responsibilities that the married pair are assuming, of the vengeance of supernatural powers (Fire, Water, Air, Sun, Moon and the Gods) on any violation of the marriage vows, of the troubles of widowhood which Indian women cheerfully undergo on the death of their husbands. There are signs that this short song is very old.

Text.

Kâṅpaile, thârî : kâṅpaile, jhârî : kâṅpaile, kuse kai dabh :
Mandye meṅ kanpailâ betî kai bâbâ det kaṅwarî kaṇyâdân.

Translation.

Shuddering, the dish,—shuddering, the jug ;—shuddering ; the bundle of *kusâ* grass ;
In the marriage-shed the shuddering father of the girl gave his daughter in marriage.

Note.

The sense of this song is that, while the father is completing the marriage ceremonies and placing the articles of worship in a dish, the sacred water in a jug, the *kusâ* grass round the sacrificial pit in the marriage shed, he shudders at giving away his daughter.

5. The Barât song, sung when the bridegroom starts for the bride's house.

Text.

Râm je chalalaiṅ biyâhan, run-jhun bajen bajâî.
Are, uprân je sagawâ menrarâîlâ na ; " ham hûṅ chalab biyâhan ke."
Unch nagar pur Pâṭan ale bâṅseṅ chhaile mandô.
Bahaile jhur-jhur byârî, uhaiṅ dal utrailâ ho.
Are, Râm sâsu je chalalîṅ parîchhan kekarî artî utarahu ho :
" Kawan bar sundar sâṅwar baran ? kanhaiâ orhale pitambar ho ? "
" Unhiṅ ke artî utarahu ; unhîṅ bar sundar ho."
Hot bihân phat-phatat chiraiâ ek bolailâ ho.
" Kholahu, tuṅ Sâsu bajrâ kewâṛ : hamhuṅ jâbai kohbar ho."
" Kaisâ maiṅ kholoṅ bajrâ kewar ? To Râm jaihaiṅ kohbar meṅ ho."
" Are, torî laṛikâ bâl adân : bolahî nahiṅ jânaile ho."
Tori dhiyâ laṛikâ adân : hamhûṅ kawal kai phûl :—"dunoṅ jaṅeṅ bihansab ho."

Translation.

When Râm starts for the marriage, beautiful music is played.
Ha, a parrot is hovering over his head : " I, too, will go to the marriage. "
In a city lofty as Paṭnâ is the marriage-shed set up, and made of fresh bamboos.
Where the wind blows pleasantly, there does the procession[5] halt.
Ha, Râm's mother-in-law comes to wave the lamps[6] over the bridegroom's head :

5 The word used is *dal*, an army and the reference may be to the time when the bridegroom's party was his ' army ' came with him to capture the bride.

6 *I.e.*, to wave the lamps of propitiation : *artî* or *parchhan karnâ*.

"Over whom must I wave the lamps?" "The beautiful dark boy that wears the yellow robe."
"Over him do *artî*: over him wave the lamps."
In the early morning a bird begins to chirp and sing:
"Mother-in-law do thou open the iron gate; I too would go to the *kohbar*.[7]
"How can I open the iron gate? It is Râm that goes into the *kohbar*."
"Ha, thy daughter is an innocent child: she does not know how to speak.
Thy daughter is an innocent child. I, too, am a flower of the lotus. We two will talk together and laugh and joke."

6. Sung at the fixing of the Marriage contract, after which the married couple cannot be parted.

Text.

Aṅgan lîpaiṅ Debî Saraswatî chandan se.
Gajmotî chauk parâî, Ganesh manâî ke.
"Uthahu na Mâî Kaushalyâ Rânî; chumahu dalrû kai mâth,
Jîaiṅ jagaiṅ Râjâ Râm Chandra." Debi Saraswatî manâwain na ho:—
"Belsaiṅ Ayodhyâ kai râj." Ganesh manâî ke na ho.

Translation.

Saraswatî Devî plasters the courtyard with sandal-wood.
She plasters it with large pearls,[8] after worshipping Ganesh[9].
"Up, mother Kaushalyâ Rânî and kiss the bridegroom on the forehead,
By which Râjâ Râm Chandra will live long and prosper. And Saraswatî Devî prays:
"May he have rule over Ayodhyâ." And she worships Ganesh.

7. The Gawanâ song, sung when the bride goes to her husband's house.

This song illustrates the grief of the bride's mother at parting with her daughter. Children are much petted and the recorder of the song states:—I do not exaggerate when I say that most mothers do not touch food for several days after the *gawanâ*. Fathers, too, will cry like children when their daughters leave them on marriage.

Text.

Aju rain daf bajai; bhaṅwarâ udayâ bhaî.
Uthahu na râjkumârî: gawan niâr bhaî.
Mâî je rowaile mandir charhî, jaise jharai Sâwanawâṅ kai nîr:—
"Are, more bajrâ kai chhatiyâ naihareṅ, dhiyâ bhailîn pâhun."
Paithî jagâwai morî mâî, suhenu sir sâheb:—
"Bhor bhayul bhinsâr to nauniyâṅ bolâwahu; goṛâ bharâwahu."
Bhaujî kothariyâ meṅ thâṛh jharâ jhâr ravailî nâ.

[7] The *kohbar* is usually held to mean the house when the bride and bridegroom go after the wedding to worship certain family gods, but this passage and certain others point to its being really the bridal chamber.

[8] The recorder of the song here has a remarkable note. "It is usually supposed that *gajmuktâ* means "the pearl in the elephant's head." I disagree with this view. *Gaj* means simply 'great' when applied as an adjective. Just as *Indra*, when it precedes a noun and is not a proper name, means simply large.

[9] The recorder also notes that the song makes the goddess Saraswatî worship her own son Ganeśa, the god of good luck.

Sanjhahiṅ danṛiyâ phanâiṅ bidwâ karaiṅ na ho.
" Bhorahin chhoṛainlîṅ mor des dhiyâ bhailîṅ pahun na ho."

Translation.

To-day at night the drums are being played : the result of the walking round the fire[10] is come.
Up, princess; the time for departure has arrived.
Mother[11] is weeping and her tears fall, as falls the rain in Sawan[12].
(Says mother) : "Alas, my breast must be of iron that I can bear my daughter's becoming but a guest in my house."
My mother goes to my father and reverences him :—
"The day has dawned, so call the barber's wife and dye my daughter's feet " [13]
My brother's wife is standing in the room weeping copiously.
In the evening my husband got ready the palankeen and I bade adieu to my parents.
(Said my mother)—" My daughter forsook my home in the morning and is now but a guest in my house."

8. The Baṛhâr song, sung when the bridegroom's procession (Barât) goes to dine at the bride's house.

On the second day after the marriage the bridegroom goes in procession at noon or in the evening to dine at the bride's house. In the Eastern Districts this is called *khicharî khânâ*, or the day itself is called *Baṛhâr kâ din,* the day of the Great Feast.

Text.

Maiṅ toṅ seṅ puchhailoṅ ghuawâ nariâr ; kauṅ birauâ se jorale saneh ?
Jaṛ mor gailan, " Patâlpur meṅ chandan biranâ se joralîṅ saneh."
Maiṅ toṅ se puchhailoṅ ; " Janak Râjâ Kawan samadhiyâ se jorale saneh ?
Jaṛ mor ropailîṅ : " Sîtal Rânî Râjâ Dasrath samadhiyâ se jorîle saneh."

Translation.

I ask thee, cocoa-nut tree, a riddle: with what plant hast thou entered into relationship?
The tree replied : " In the Lower Regions (Pâtâla) I made friends with the sandal-wood."
I ask thee again : with which father-in-law did Râjâ Janak enter into relationship ?
The tree replied : " Sîtal Rânî and I made friends with Râjâ Dasrath as father-in-law." [14]

II.

Some marriage songs of the Chaube Brâhmans of Mathurâ.

This incomplete set of three songs was recorded by Prâg Dâs Chaube of the Town School, Itâwâ. It will be observed that these Brâhman songs are more modern in form and more poetical than those recorded from Mirzâpur. It will also be observed that final vowels are unstable, *â, o, e,* and even *u* : perhaps on account of accent and rhythm in singing.

10 An essential point in the marriage ceremony.

11 The bride is supposed to be speaking throughout this song.

12 August—the wet month.

13 With the auspicious dye called *mehawâr.*

14 The song here seems to follow the old Indian custom of asking and answering stock riddles.

1. Hazârî[15] Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

Text.

Hâthî to lâye, Bannâ, Kajarî desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Ghore to lâye, Bannâ, Qâbul desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Naubat to lâye, Bannâ, Bûndî desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Sono to lâyo, Bannâ, Lankâ desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tu bhale âyo re.
Rupo to lâyo, Bannâ, Danhdal desh ke
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Môtî to lâye, Bannâ, Sûrat desh ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Chunnî to lâye, Bannâ, Daryâbâd ko.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Sâlu to lâye, Bannâ, Dakshin desh ko.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âye re.
Missî to lâye, Bannâ, dhur Gujrât ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.
Dâsî to lâye, Bannâ, Chanchal desh ko.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âye re.
Dulhin to lâye, Bannâ, Singhaldwîp ke.
Hazârî Bannâ, tû bhale âyo re.

Translation.

Hast brought an elephant, Bridegroom, from the Kajarî[16] land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought a horse, Bridegroom, from Kâbul land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought music[17], Bridegroom, from Bûndî land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought gold, Bridegroom, from Lankâ[18] land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought silver, Bridegroom, from Danhdal[19] land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought pearls, Bridegroom, from Sûrat land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought gems, Bridegroom, from Daryâbâd.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought silk[20], Bridegroom, from the Dakhan land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

15 *Lit.*, 'of the thousands', *i.e.*, wealthy.

16 The Kajalî Ban is usually a fabled forest, but the country beyond Hardwâr, where the Ganges leaves the hills was once described to the Editor as the Kajalî Ban.

17 *Naubat*, often known as *roshan chauki*.

18 Usually held to be Ceylon by all Indians.

19 The locality of this country has not been traced.

20 *Sâlu*., the bride's garment of red silk. Dakhan means here the country to the South generally.

Hast brought tooth-paste, Bridegroom, from far Gujrât.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought maids, Bridegroom, from Chanchal [21] land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast a bride, Bridegroom, from Singhaldwîp.[22]
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

2. Ektâî Mahmûdî Naurangî—The oranges are Mahmûdî and are peerless.

Text.

Ektâî Mahmûdî naurangî ; sûtan lâl ; chamelî châmpâ ras bhînî cholî chatar amol.
Sîr kesariyâ pâg par sohai khajûrî ka mor.
Baṛ barnî baṛî ankhaiṅ : tispar kâjar atî chhabî det.
Mere kol dîpak ajab bano bâre bannâ.
Ratan jaṛit makhmalî panhî lâge hîrâ lîl.
Bâr bar jal pîwat jananî. Dhanî dhanî jahanî mâî.
Mere kul dîpak bâre bannâ.
Byâhî chalo Barsâne awo, milî Vrîndâban Chand.
Mero kul dîpak ajab bano re bare bannâ.

Translation.

Her oranges[23] are Mahmûdî and peerless ; her trousers are red ; her bodice[24], soaked in the juice of jasmines, is clever and beyond price.
On her head a saffron-coloured turban shines, crowned with a palm-leaf peacock.
Her large eyes look beautiful with lamp-black.
The lamp of my family, the young bridegroom is dressed wonderfully.
He has velvet shoes studded with diamonds and rubies
Her mother drinks water again and again. Blessed art thou, O mother.
The lamp of my family has the bridegroom become.
Married let us go to Barsânâ and meet the moon of Vrindâban[25].
The lamp of my life, the young bridegroom has dressed himself beautifully.

3. Bannâ hai nâdân—The bridegroom is an innocent.

This is a maiden's song and contains a common complaint in Indian marriage songs. It refers to the extreme youth of the bridegroom and is really an indirect appeal on the part of maidens for a change in marriage customs.

Text.

Chirâ to bândhe saṅwaliyâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.
Jâmâ to pahire saṅwaliyâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.
Patuke khâtir machalâ :
Bannâ hai nâdân.

21 This country has not been traced. 22 *I.e.*, Ceylon.

23 By 'oranges' (*naurangî*) is meant the breasts of the girl, who is young. By 'Mahmûdî,' the recorder thinks that a reference to Mahmûd of Ghaznî, who sacked Mathurâ is meant. But Mahmûd's raids occurred at the end of the 4th century A.H. and the beginning of the 11th century A.D., and Mahmûd is a common personal name. It is more likely that 'Mahmûdî oranges' merely refers to a well-known variety much valued.

24 The recorder has a quaint and interesting note here. "The Indian woman's bodice is in reality no covering at all. It rudely shelters the breasts and leaves the stomach exposed. But chiefly on account of its indecency it has been the subject of many praises in the compositions of authors and poets, who only think of love in its meanest form."

25 *I.e.*, Krishna or Śrî Kṛishṇa Chandra.

Sûthan pahire saṅwaliyâ :
    Bannâ hai nâdân.
Moti khâtir machalâ :
    Bannâ hai nâdân.
Dolâ to lâwai saṅwaliyâ :
    Bannâ hai nâdân.
Banarî khatir jhâgṛâ.
    Bannâ hai nâdân.
Mere re bâbul ko piyârî hai nâdân.

Translation.

He wears a turban like a beau :
    But the bridegroom is an innocent.[26]
He wears a long coat[27] like a beau :
    But the bridegroom[28] is an innocent.
He grieves for the want of his girdle :
    But the bridegroom[28] is an innocent.
He has on trousers like a beau :
    But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He grieves for the want of pearls :
    But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He brings a palankeen[29] like a beau :
    But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He is quarrelling for a monkey[30].
    But the bridegroom is an innocent.
The beloved of my father is an innocent.

(*To be continued.*)

---

26 *Nâdân* means literally ignorant, but both Hindus and Musalmans use the term to mean a little innocent child.

27 *Jâmâ* means the long loose coat worn by bridegrooms at the marriage ceremony. It is a relic of the coat formerly worn by all men in public, just as Muhammadans still wear them.

28 The term often used here is *bânṛâ* not *bânnâ*. *Bânṛâ* means apparently mean 'monkey,'—'the young monkey.'

29 There is a pun here and this expression might read "he takes a bride." *Cf. Hindu râje Musalmân bâdshâhoṅ ko dolâ dete hain*—Hindus offer brides to Râjâs and Musalmâns to kings."

30 Here the sense is "the young monkey is quarrelling for his mate."

BUDDERMOKAN.

By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(*Continued from page* 65.)

VII.

Water and river worship in India.

Commencing with the Punjab, Maclagan, *Census Report*, 1891, vol. I, p. 105, tells us : " The veneration of rivers—of the various rivers venerated in the Punjab the Ganges is the most famous. It is very often worshipped under the title of Bhâgîrathî, after the name of the Puranic hero Bhagîratha, who is said to have brought the Ganges down from heaven. A large number of those who worship the river under this name are of the Ōḍ caste, which is said to be descended from Bhagîratha. The Ōḍs of the south-west are a wandering caste of workers in earth, who say they are Hindus, but none the less they bury their dead, and hence are not associated with by ordinary Hindus. They are often found wearing a black blanket, the origin of which custom is explained in two different ways. According to one story the Ganges, which was brought from heaven by the austerities of Bhagîratha, has not flowed to the place where the bones of the ancestors repose, and until it does the Ōḍs must continue to wear mourning. Another account is that the ancestor of the Ōḍs, the father of Bhagîratha, swore to himself that he would never drink twice of the same well and that he used to dig a new well for himself each day ; but one day he had to dig very deep and the earth fell over him, and he was seen no more. This story is also given to explain why the Ōḍs do not burn their dead."

Passing down the West Coast, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. V, (Cutch), p. 55, we read that the Lohânâs in Cutch " are devout worshippers of the Spirit of the Indus, Darya Pîr, who is said to have saved them when they fled from Multân. Every Lohânâ village has a place built in honour of this spirit, where a lamp, fed with clarified butter, is kept burning day and night, and where in the month of Chaitra (March–April) a festival is celebrated." See also Burton, *Hist. of Sindh*, p. 315.

In Baroda, J. A. Dalal, *Census Report*, 1901, vol. I, p. 157, it is stated that : " There are special deities for particular tribes . . . . the Magar Dev, the Alligator God of the Dublâs, Chodhâras, Vasâvâs and Kukanâs. It is worshipped once a year to avoid injury from alligators to men and animals, and also as a preventive against illness. This deity is found only in isolated places under a roof and is merely a piece of wood, somewhat resembling an alligator and propped up on two posts." And in regard to the alligator and crocodile, Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, pp. 275-276, has as usual some pregnant remarks to make : " The alligator is held sacred and worshipped by the Hindus. To be eaten by an alligator of Gangasagar is considered happiest of deaths (Ward's *View of Hindus*, I, lxvi). It is a lucky sign if a man drowning himself is seized by an alligator (*op. cit.* II, 117).

" One of the meritorious suicides in the *'Ain Akbarî* is to go into the sea at the Ganges' mouth, and be eaten by an alligator (Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, II, 164). Alligator canopies are favourite Buddhist ornaments. Crocodiles eat the bodies of men and frequent the banks of rivers, one of the great spirit haunts, and so the crocodiles are worshipped and tamed at the well-known crocodile pond near Karâchî in Sind. The crocodile is eaten by Upper Egyptians and Nubians (Burkhardt's *Nubia*, 36). Food for the crocodile is a Nubian phrase for one thrown into a river (*op. cit.* 146). In Melanesia they are believed to contain the spirit of a friend, and are tamed (*Jour. Anthropological Institute*, X, 306). Crocodiles are prayed to in Madagascar. The people are much afraid of them, and so they offer them prayers that they may not be troubled (Sibree's *Madagascar*, 270). Many persons in Madagascar won't kill them, except in revenge, and many wear the tooth as a charm. A golden crocodile's

tooth is the central ornament in the royal crown (*op. cit.* 269). In Guinea they are worshipped as containing the spirits of men (*Primitive Culture*, II, 8); so also in the Philippine Islands (*op. cit.* 230). Some South Africans put a man out of tribe who has been bit by an alligator (Livingstone's *South Africa*, 255). This is because the man is the alligator's prey and the alligator will punish them. Compare the Burmans not helping a drowning man, because he is the victim of the water nymphs. The Zaparo Indians of South America though enjoy killing all animals, still they won't kill the big alligator (*Jour. Anthropological Institute*, VII, 504). In Tahiti at the king's coronation two deified sharks are said to come and congratulate the king. The kings used to play with them (Jones' *Crowns*, 453). According to Pliny (*Natural History*, XXVIII, 8), the crocodile cures fever, ague, weak eyes, and many other complaints."

In *Bombay Gazetteer*. vol. II (Broach), on pp. 567ff. is described a Sukaltîrtha, the most important fair in the Broach district, and at p. 569 it is stated that "the ceremony of launching on the Narbadâ a boat with black sails to become white in token that the sins of the penitent are taken from him, is still practised; but nowadays the pilgrims, not being kings, use instead of a boat a common earthen jar. This they set afloat, having set inside of it a lighted lamp, and as it drifts down the stream it carries away with it their sins."

Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, p. 169, says: In the Konkan water spirits live in the round holes found in river-bed rocks. River beds are favourite spirit haunts, and so in Poona every year, when the rivers swell, all villagers come together, take a green *sâḍî* or waist cloth, and *chôlî* or bodice cloth, flowers, fruits, frankincense, and betelnuts and leaves with them, and throw them in the river. In Melanesia holes in water rocks are sacred to spirits (*Jour. Anthropological Institute*, X, 277). In Scotland pot-holes are called fairies' cups (Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, 462).

General quotations on Water and River Worship might be indefinitely extended, but the whole question is well summed up to the information obtainable at the beginning of the present century in Sir James Campbell's admirable *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Customs*, pp. 325-327. His remarks on the universal aspect of water worship go far to show us that in the legends surrounding Badaru'ddîn Auliâ and Khwâja Khizar we are in the presence of beliefs going back to the beginnings of human thought and of superstitions that are world wide. He says: "Water as one of the chief scarers or foes of evil spirits rose to a high position among the Hindu objects of worship. Certain rivers and ponds are held very sacred and are often resorted to by thousands of pilgrims. In the *Rig Veda* the waters are personified, deified and honoured as goddesses, and called the mothers of the earth. They cleanse their worshippers from sin and untruthfulness and give birth to fire (Monier Williams' *Religious Thought in India*, 346-347). They are also praised for their power of healing (*ibid*).

"The Ganges is considered the most sacred of all the rivers, and next to it in importance are the Jamnâ, the Sarasvatî. the Narmadâ, the Sharâyu, and several other minor rivers. To bathe daily in the rivers and seas, especially in the months of Kârtika, Mârgashîrsha, Pausha and Mâgha—that is, from December to March—is considered very meritorious; and to bathe on a new-moon day that falls on a Monday is still more meritorious. To bathe in the sea as well as some sacred ponds, like bathing in the rivers, is held holy. All high class Hindus in the Kônkan, especially Brahmans, daily worship a pot filled with water, called *varuna*, with flowers, rice and red powder. Among the Hirekurvinavarus of Dhârwâr on the twentieth day after a child-birth the mother and five married women, whose first husbands are alive, go to a tank, well, or river, and worship the water with turmeric and red powder (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XXII, 168-169). The Kanara Halvaki Vakals at the Dîvâlî festival in the month of November worship an earthen vessel full of water with a row of lighted lamps round it (*op. cit.*, XIV, 207).

" Among the Belgaum Kunbîs the day before Dîvâlî (October–November) large earthen pots are bought, smeared with lime, put on the fire-place, and filled with water (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XXI, 117). Among the Areres, a class of Kanarese husbandmen, a copper pot full of water, its mouth stopped by a cocoanut ornamented with flowers, mango leaves and vermilion paste, is worshipped as the abode of the marriage gods (*op. cit.*, XV, 215). On the sixteenth day after death the Kanara Jains put on heaps of rice, and putting from nine to one hundred and nine pots filled with water on them worship them with flowers and red powder (*op. cit.* 236).

" According to Buchanan (*Mysore*, II, 71), in Mysore a pool was worshipped, and money was thrown in it. At the spring of the Kaveri, in Coorg. in October all pilgrims try to bathe at the same moment just as the sun enters the sign of Libra (Rice's *Mysore*, III, 243). The Ganges is worshipped because it purifies everything (Ward's *View of the Hindus*, I, xlv). The Japanese worship wells and gods of water (Reed's *Japan*, I, 51). Rivers and seas are the object of worship of the Shinto religion of Japan (*op. cit.* I, 27). There is a sacred well at Mecca, in Arabia, which cures all diseases (Burkhardt's *Arabia*, I, 262–263). In East Africa presents of clothes are made to sacred springs (Cameron, *Across Africa*, I, 144). The Romans had service rites of *fontanalia*. Seneca says : " Where a spring rises, or a river flows, there should we build altars and offer sacrifices " (Dyer's *Folk Lore*, 4). Water was held sacred in Scandinavia (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, II, 584), and the Franks and Alamanns worshipped rivers and fountains (*op. cit.* 583). In Germany whirlpools and waterfalls were held in special veneration, and were thought to be put in motion by a superior being—a river sprite (*op. cit.*, 592) : so also above all was the place honoured where the wondrous element leaps up from the lap of earth, and the first appearance of a spring was often ascribed to divine agency or a miracle (*op. cit.* 584). It is the custom of Esthonia for a newly married wife to drop a present into the well of the house (*op. cit.* 598).

" In Great Britain many wells were held sacred, and were often resorted to by patients and pilgrims till the beginning of the eighteenth century. The worship of wells in the holy pool of Strathfillan near Tyndrum, in Scotland, in 1798 is thus described. In August hundreds of people were said to bathe in it. After bathing each person picked up nine stones and took them to a hill near where were three cairns. They went three times round each cairn, at each round dropping a stone. If they bathe to get rid of any sore or disease, they leave on the cairn a piece of cloth which covered the diseased part. If a beast was ill at home, they brought its halter, laid it on the cairn, kneaded some meal on the water of the pool, and gave it to the cattle. The cairns were covered with old halters, gloves, shoes, bonnets, nightcaps, rags, petticoats and garters (Anderson's *Early Scotland*, I, 192).

" To the well of many virtues in St. Kilda, in West Scotland, pilgrims brought shells, pebbles, rags, pins, needles, nails and coins (Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, I, 119). The well of St. Michael was held very holy in Scotland. In the *Statistical Account of Scotland* (XII, 464) parish of Kirkmichael, Banffshire, it is said : ' Near the kirk of this parish there is a fountain, once highly celebrated, and dedicated to St. Michael. Many a patient has by its waters been restored to health, and many more have attested the efficacy of their virtues. But as the presiding power is sometimes capricious and apt to desert his charge, it now lies neglected, choked with weeds, unhonoured, and unfrequented. In better days it was not so ; for the winged guardian under the semblance of a fly was never absent from his duty. If the sober matron wished to know the issue of her husband's ailments, or the lovesick nymph that of her languishing swain, they visited the well of St. Michael. Every movement of the sympathetic fly was regarded in silent awe ; and as he appeared cheerful or dejected the anxious votaries drew their presages ' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities* II, 372).

"In North Wales there was a holy well called the Holy Well or St. Winifride's Well. Pennant in his account of this well says : 'After the death of that saint the waters were as sensitive as those of the pool of Bethesda : all infirmities incident to the human body met with relief : the votive crutches, the barrows, and other proofs of cures to this moment remain as evidences pendent over the well. The resort of pilgrims to these fontanalia has. of late years, been considerably decreased. In the summer still a few are to be seen in the water in deep devotion up to their chins for hours sending up their prayers or performing a number of evolutions round the polygonal well, or threading the arch between well and well a number of times' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 367).

"In the curious manuscript account of the customs in North Wales by Pennant he says : 'About two hundred yards from the church in a quillet called Gwern Dugla, rises a small spring. The water is under the tutelage of the saint, and to this day held to be extremely beneficial in the falling sickness. The patient washes his limbs in the well, makes an offering into it of four pence, walks round it three times, and thrice repeats the Lord's prayer. These ceremonies are never begun till after sunset, in order to inspire the votaries with greater awe' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 375).

"In England people offered pins, shells, needles, pebbles, coins, and rags to sacred wells (Chamber's *Book of Days*, II, 7), and on Holy Thursday people used to throw sweet garlands and wreaths of pansies, pinks and gaudy daffodils into the streams (Dyer's *Folk Lore*, 4). In some parts of North England it has been a custom from time immemorial for the lads and lasses of the neighbouring villages to collect together at springs or rivers on some Sunday in May to drink sugar and water where the lasses give the treat : this is called Sugar-and-water Sunday. They afterwards adjourn to the public-houses, and the lads return the compliment in cakes, ale and punch. A vast concourse of both sexes assemble for the above purpose at the Giant's Cave near Eden Hall in Cumberland on the third Sunday in May (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 375).

"Hutchinson in his *History of Cumberland* (II, 323), speaking of the parish of Bromfield and a custom in the neighbourhood of Blencogo, says : 'On the common to the east of that village not far from Ware-Brig, near a pretty large rock of granite called St. Cuthbert's Stane, is a fine copious spring of remarkably pure and sweet water which is called Helly Well, that is, Holy Well. It formerly was the custom for the youth of all the neighbouring villages to assemble at this well early in the afternoon of the second Sunday in May, and there to join in a variety of rural sports' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 37)."

On the connected question of Water Spirits. Campbell is equally explicit (*op. cit.*, pp. 149 f.) : "The most important and widely known of the Konkan spirits that are supposed to live in water are *Asras*, *Bâpdev*, *Girâ* and *Hadal* or *Hedalî*. *Asras* are the ghosts of young women who after giving birth to one or more children, committed suicide by drowning themselves. They always live in water, and attack any person who comes to the place of their abode at noon, in the evening, or at midnight. When they make their rounds they generally go in groups of three to seven. Their chief objects of attack are young women, and when a woman is attacked by the *Asras* generally, a female exorcist is called in to get rid of them.

"Their favourite offerings are cooked rice, turmeric, red powder, and green bodice cloths. *Bâpdev* is the ghost of a sailor or mariner drowned in a channel or sea. He is much feared by the mariners, who please him with the offerings of fruits and cocoanuts. *Girâ* is the spectre of a man drowned in a well, tank, channel, river or sea. He has his feet turned backwards. Whomsoever the *Girâ* attacks, the feet of that person become crooked. He is said

to allure travellers by calling them by their names. Sometimes he offers to become a guide to lonely travellers, and taking them into deep water drowns them, and thus makes them members of his clan. The *Girâ* is supposed to get frightened at the sight of knives and scissors. It is said should any person happen to cut the *shendi* or top-knot of the *Girâ* he would come to him at night to ask for the top-knot, and in return would do any work the person may require him to do. *Hadal* or *Hedalî* is supposed to be the spectre of a married woman drowned in a well, tank or a river. She wears a yellow robe and bodice and green bangles, and lets her hair fall loose on her back. She is said to be plump in front and a skeleton behind. She generally attacks women. A woman who is attacked by a *Hedalî* lets her hair fall loose, shakes all over, and shrieks. The *Hedalî* is said to be much afraid of the sacred thread of Brahmans."

To the above remarks Campbell adds the following: Compare—The Romans worshipped water nymphs. The Greeks believed the inspired men. The Swedish believe that drowned men, whose bodies are not found, have been drawn into the dwelling of the water spirits, *Hafsfru* (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, II, 497). The Germans had water spirits called Nichus and Nix (*op. cit.* II, 489). Scott (*Border Minstrelsy*, 444) mentions a class of water spirits called *Dracæ* who tempted women and children under water by showing them floating gold. The water spirit was greatly feared in Mexico (Bancroft, III, 422). The Nix or water-man was also greatly feared in Middle-Age Europe (Primitive Culture, I, 108, 109, 131; II, 209). Heywood quoted in Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, 445, writes:

. . . . ' another sort
Ready to cramp their joints who swim for sport.
One kind of these the Italians Fatae named,
Fée the French, we Sibyls and the same,
Others white nymphs, and those that have them seen,
White ladies, some of which Habundia queen.'

" It was also known as the Kelpi. It appeared in the form of a horse, a bull, or a man, and deceived people by sending dancing lights or will-o'-the-wisp (*Eastern Races of Scot.*, II, 437; Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, 540). Some of them lived in the sea, where they caused whirlpools and shipwrecks (Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 124; Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, 507, 509).

" In Denmark the popular belief pictures the Ellekone as captivating to look at in front, but hollow at the back like a kneading trough" (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, II, 449)."

It seems, therefore, quite clear that in the " Buddermokâns " we have a series of shrines on the Burmese Coast representing really a very ancient universal faith in the God of the Flood, introduced under Muhammadan influence from India, where it had become mixed up with indigenous Hindu and animistic beliefs. In Burma it has become further confused with Buddhist and Far Eastern animistic traditional superstitions.

PALOURA-DANTAPURA.

(*A translation of a Note by M. Sylvain Lévi.*)

THE issue of the *Journal Asiatique* (Tome CCVI) for January-March, 1925, contains a collection of 'Notes Indiennes' by M. Sylvain Lévi, one of which is concerned with the identification of the place called "Paloura" by Ptolemy the geographer. As M. Lévi's conclusions cannot but be of interest to students of the early history of India, I give below as faithful an English rendering as I can of his erudite note.—S. M. EDWARDES.

"Ptolemy mentions a locality named Paloura on the eastern side of India (VII, 1, 16), which he took as one of the bases in the construction of his map. He locates Paloura in 136° 40′ E and 11° 20′ N, near the mouths of the Ganges, 20 degrees north of the *aphetêrion,* where vessels bound for the Golden Peninsula (Khrusê Khersonêsos) ceased to hug the shore and sailed for the open sea. Ptolemy's map locates this *aphetêrion* at the southern extremity of an imaginary peninsula, which inclines in a south-easterly direction from a point approximately corresponding to Point Calimere, immediately to the north of Ceylon, and then after running straight northward finally bends west-by-east towards the Gangetic delta. In his first book (I, 13, 5-7) Ptolemy discussed at length the position assigned to Paloura by his predecessor, Marin of Tyre, and corrected according to his own ideas his predecessor's estimate of the distance between Paloura and the port of Sada, situated on the opposite shore.

"It is surprising to find that, except by Ptolemy, no mention is made of a locality situated in so exceptional a position on the maritime trade-route between India and the Far East. The name belongs to the Dravidian type, and is one of the large series of names ending in *our* and *oura*,—suffixes which have long been recognized as derived from the Dravidian term *ûr* (town). Caldwell (*Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian Languages,* Introduction, p. 104) derives the name Paloura from the Tamil *pâl-ûr, i.e.,* 'milk-town.' But there is an alternative explanation. The Tamil word for 'tooth' is *pallu* (Tel. *pallu*; Kan. *hallu*; Mal. *pallu*; Gond. *pal*; etc.; cf. *Linguistic Survey,* vol. IV, 650—652, No. 37). Paloura can quite well signify "the city of the tooth." Indian tradition has known from a very remote date of a "tooth-city," Dantapura, in the country of Kalinga, the very region in which we meet with Paloura. Dantapura is renowned chiefly in Buddhist tradition, which associates the name of the city with a famous relic, the tooth of Buddha, worshipped to-day at Kandy in Ceylon. The ordinary tradition regarding the division of the relics soon after the Parinirvâṇa related that one of the teeth of the Master was taken to the kingdom of Kaliṅga (*Digha,* II, p. 167; *Buddhavaṁsa,* chap. XXVIII; Dulva in Rockhill, *Life,* p. 147). A late poem in Pali, the *Dâṭhâvaṁsa* by Dhammakitti, gives the supposed history of this relic. It was carried to Dantapura by the sage Khema, in the reign of Brahmadatta of Kalinga, and was worshipped there until the reign of Guhasîva, who, to save it from profanation, entrusted it to his son-in-law, Dantakumâra of Ujjayinî. Carried by the latter to Tamralipti, the tooth was thence carried by sea to Ceylon, where it was piously welcomed by Mahâsena's successor, Kitti-siri-megha (middle of the 4th century), the same prince who despatched an embassy to Samudragupta in connexion with the Mahâbodhi monastery. The two facts are closely connected; Kitti-siri-megha appears as the champion of Buddhist interests, while India is experiencing a wave of reaction against Buddhism.

"According to Buddhist tradition, Dantapura is one of the most ancient Indian cities; it stands first on the list of the six towns founded by Mahâgovinda in the time of king Reṇu :—

Dantapuraṁ Kâlingânaṁ Assakânañ cha Potanaṁ
Mâhissatî Avantînaṁ Sovîrânañ cha Rorukam
Mithilâ cha Videhânaṁ Campâ Aṅgesu mâpitâ
Bârâṇasî cha Kâsînaṁ ete Govindamâpitâ.

This list in verse is included in the Mahâgovinda Sutta of the *Dîgha Nikâya*, XIX, 36; it is also found in the corresponding *sûtra* of the *Dîrghâgama* and has thence passed into the two Chinese versions of this text. It has also been introduced into the *Mahâvastu*, III, 308. The scene of several incidents in the *Mahâvastu* is laid at Dantapura in Kaliṅga, III, 361, 364. It is the same case with the *Jâtaka* : *Kurudhamma*, II, 67; *Culla Kaliṅga*, III, 3; *Kumbhakâra*, II, 376; *Kalingabodhi*, IV, 230. One is always finding in it stories which belong to the time "when the Kâliṅga was ruling at Dantapura in the kingdom of Kaliṅga" (*Kaliṅgaraṭṭhe Dantapuranagare Kâliṅge rajjaṁ kârente*). In the *Kumbhakâra*, the king who rules Kaliṅga from Dantapura is the famous Karaṇḍu, whose name is associated with those of Naggaji of Gandhara, Dummukha of Uttara-Pañchala, and Nimi of Videha, who abdicated in order to embrace asceticism. They are equally famous in Jain literature, in which Karaṇḍu is transformed into Karakaṇḍu, likewise king of Kaliṅga at Daṅtapura. The magnificent Jain encyclopædia, now in course of publication, the *Abhidâna-Râjendra*, gives a long biography of Karakaṇḍu and refers to a series of texts : it will suffice here to recall that of the *Uttarâdhyayana sûtra*, XVIII, 45-46, with the commentary of Devendra. Among the Jains, Dantapura in Kaliṅga is also famous as the capital of king Dantavakra, "the greatest of the Kshatriyas," according to the testimony of the *Sûtrakṛitâṅga*, I, 6, 22, who is specially known for having involuntarily incited two friends to rival one another in heroic devotion, namely Dhanamitra and Dṛiḍhamitra, the Indian counterparts of Orestes and Pylades, of Damon and Pythias, etc. The word *danta*, signifying 'tooth' and 'ivory,' has supplied the basis of the first episode in the story : the wife of king Dantavakra, being pregnant, expresses a wish for a palace constructed entirely of ivory, and the king issues orders for all the ivory available to be kept for his use. Unfortunately the wife of the merchant Dhanamitra, likewise pregnant, expresses the same desire; and in order to satisfy her, the merchant and his friend contravene the royal orders. Each of them demands thereafter to pay the penalty; the king, greatly moved, pardons them both. (Cf. *Abhidâna-Rajendra*, s.v. *pacchitta*, vol. V, p. 186, and for the references, s.v. *Dantavakka*.)

"The *Mahâbhârata* speaks of a prince named Dantavakra, but he is king of Kârûṣa, the country lying between Chedi and Magadha, to the south of Kâśî and Vatsa. Dantavakra of Kârûṣa appears fairly often in the *Harivaṁśa*, nearly always in company with the Kaliṅga; he is the bitter enemy of Kṛishṇa who ends by slaying him. This no doubt is the origin of the reading adopted by the Southern manuscripts in the passage of the *Mahâbhârata* quoted below (p. 96): "He (Kṛishṇa) has crushed the Kaliṅgas [and] Dantavaktra."

"I have not succeeded in finding any mention of Dantapura in Brahmanic literature. At the same time there is late epigraphical evidence to prove that the name of this place remained for a long time in common use. The Ganga King Indravarman dates a gift from his residence at Dantapura (*Dantapuravâsakât : Ep. Ind.* XIV, 361), whereas the rulers of that dynasty generally date their donations from Kaliṅganagara. Indravarman presents to a Brahman the village of Bhukkukûra in Kurukarâṣṭra (modern Bhukkur in Pâlakoṇḍa tâluka), where the inscription was discovered. G. Ramadas, who edits the inscription, remarks : "On the road from Chicacole to Siddhântam, and close to the latter spot, a wide stretch of land is pointed out as the site of the fort of Dantavaktra. The peasantry often used to pick up there ornaments, images, coins and so forth, and even to this day there is a general belief that the site once contained great treasures." Mr. Ramadas concludes :—"These facts show that Dantapura once existed on the spot which is now pointed out as the site of Dantavaktra's fort." If Mr. Ramadas had been conversant with the Jain legends, he would not have failed to remark the extraordinary persistence of the memory of this king Dantavaktra or Dantavakra (the two forms of the name are equally common and both merge into the Prakrit form Dantavakka), the legend about whom, connected with the name of Dantapura, I have just recounted.

"Although the *Mahâbhârata* contains no mention of Dantapura, it mentions several times, in connexion with the country of the Kalingas, a name containing the element *danta*. In the fifth canto (*adhy.* 23, verse 708) Yudishṭhira, recalling the exploits of his brethren, cries :—" The son of Mâdrî, Sahadeva, has vanquished the Kalingas assembled at Dantakûra, firing his arrows to right and left."

Mâdrîputraḥ Sahadevaḥ Kalingân samâgatân ajayad Dantakûre |
vânmenâsyan dakṣiṇenaiva yo vai mahâbalaṁ kaccidenaṁ smaranti ||

" A little further on, in the same canto, when Saṁjaya repeats the words of Arjuna in praise of Krishṇa (*adhy.* 47, v. 1883), " It is he," he says, " who broke the Pâṇḍya at Kavâṭa and crushed the Kalingas at Dantakûra."

ayaṁ kavâṭe nijaghâna Pâṇḍyaṁ
tathâ Kalingân Dantakûre mamarda ||

" P. C. Roy's rendering of this passage is as follows :—" It was he who slew king Pâṇḍya by striking his breast against his, and mowed down the Kalingas in battle." He adds the following note : " Some texts read *Kapâṭe nijaghâna*," meaning " slew in the city of of Kapâṭa." He for his part follows the text of the Calcutta edition : *kapâṭena jaghâna*. Obviously the two texts give very different meanings. The translator has followed the commentary of Nîlakaṇṭha, who accepts *kapâtena jaghâna*, and translates *kapâta* as " thorax, chest as large as the leaf of a folding door," and who, in the second place, arbitrarily interprets *dantakûra* as ' a battle in which one gnashes the teeth.'

" The Southern edition (*adhy.* 48, v. 76) reads *Kavâte nijaghâna* and *dantavaktraṁ mamarda*. A gloss interprets *Kavâṭe* by *nagarabheda*, ' a particular town,' but says no more. It is curious, in any case, to find this king Dantavaktra, so persistently associated with Kalinga, reappearing here in defiance of the rules of syntax, which forbid the juxta-position of two accusatives (*tathâ Kalingân dantavaktraṁ mamarda*).

" The word *dantakûra* appears again in the *Mahâbhârata*, VII, 70, 7, at least in the Southern edition. The poet recalls the exploits of Paraśurâma in his great struggle against the Ksatriyas : " There, fourteen thousand enemies of the Brahmans, and yet others, he checked and slew at Dantakûra."

brahmadviṣâm châtha tasmin sahasrâṃ chaturdaśa
punar anyân nijagrâha Dantakûre jaghâna ha.

The commentator mentions an alternative reading, *dantakrûram* ; " in this case," he remarks " this word refers to the ruler of the country." In other words, if it is not a place-name formed with *kûra*, it is a personal name formed with *krûra* (cruel), and one must take it to be an accusative : ' he slew Dantakrûra '. P. C. Roy's translation accepts the reading *Dantakûre* and gives the following rendering :—" In that slaughter were included fourteen thousand Brahman-hating Kshattriyas of the Dantakûra country." The Calcutta edition prefers to read *Dantakrûraṁ jaghâna ha*, which is the reading followed by Nîlakaṇṭha, whose gloss (*tad-deśâdhipati*) has been reproduced by the annotator of the Southern edition. The authors of the Petersburg Dictionary have, under the heading *dantakrûraṁ*, treated this word as an adverb and have translated it ' in a savage manner with the teeth,' giving a reference to this particular passage. Subsequently, however, in the abridged edition, Böhtlingk has substituted for the adverb *dantakrûram* the noun *dantakrûra*, which he renders as follows :—" Name of a place (according to Nîlakaṇṭha) ; one ought unquestionably to read *dantakûre* for *dantakrûram*."

" The choice between *Dantakûra* and *Dantakrûra*, which the *Mahâbhârata* translations leave in uncertainty, and the very meaning of the word, which has also remained uncertain, are definitely established by the testimony of Pliny. In Book VI, xx, he states that he will estimate the length of the coast as far as the Indus, as it appears to him, by distances, although there is no agreement between the various itineraries, and he describes the first

stage as *ab ostio Ganjis ad promontorium Calingôn et oppidum Dandagula DCXXV M. passuum*, *i.e.*, "from the mouth of the Ganges to the promontory of the Kaliṅgas and the fortified town of Dandagula, 625000 paces." The promontory of the Kaliṅgas, which serves as so clear a guide-mark to the line of the coast, is evidently, and beyond all doubt, the place where Ptolemy locates the starting-point of the deep-sea route to the Golden Peninsula, and which marks for him a sudden alteration in the geographical direction of the coast. The neighbouring town (*oppidum*) can be none other than the Paloura of Ptolemy, otherwise called Dantapura ; and in Pliny's title of Dandagula it is easy to recognize the name of Dantakûra. The distance of 625,000 paces, chosen by Pliny from among the discordant data of the itineraries, is equivalent to 3645 *stadia.* Ptolemy reckons 500 *stadia* to a degree at the equator, and therefore also on each of the meridians. Accordingly, by Ptolemy's reckoning, the distance from the Ganges to Dandagula would correspond approximately to 6° 36′. Between Paloura and the westernmost mouth of the Ganges, Ptolemy marks a distance of 7° 50′ in longitude (136° 40′—144° 30′) and of 6° 55′ in latitude (11° 20′—18° 15′). Apparently, therefore, Ptolemy was working on data closely allied to the approximate calculations of Pliny ; without the combination of ideas which forced him to wholesale misconception of outline, he would probably have been able to produce a tolerably faithful representation of this part of the coast-line. The delta of the Ganges is situated near the 22° degree N ; the region, in which one must search for Dantapura and in which local tradition still locates the fort (*oppidum*) of Dantavaktra, lies in proximity to Chicacole and Kaliṅgapatam, 'the city of the Kaliṅgas,' a little to the north of the 18° degree ; the distance between these two places, following the shore-line, is from 5 to 6 degrees.

"In a work which is included in *Études asiatiques,* published by the French School of the Far East on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, I have pointed out that the *aphetêrion eis Khrusen* (starting-point for the golden Chersonese) of Ptolemy is identical with the Charitrapura of Hiuen-tsang and of various Sanskrit texts. I should like to draw attention to another feature, common both to the Greek and Chinese writers. As we have seen, Ptolemy locates the *aphetêrion* at a promontory where the coast bends sharply from the direction W.N.W. by E.S.E. to the direction S by N, and then is inflected eastwards, separating the Argaric and Gangetic gulfs. The Charitrapura of Hiuen-tsang is situated on the south-western boundary of the kingdom of Orissa and to the north-east of the kingdom of Malakuṭa. Towards the south-west, Orissa borders on the kingdom of Kong-yu-t'o or Koṅgoda, which forms a province of Southern Kosala and corresponds with the modern Ganjam District. "The frontiers of this kingdom" writes Hiuen-tsang "include several dozens of little towns which are near some hills and are situated at the meeting of two seas."—This, at any rate, is Julien's rendering of the passage, which Watters criticises as follows :—"The word *two* does not appear in the original Chinese text ; the term *hai-kiao* here signifies the meeting of the sea and the land. The pilgrim wished his readers to know that the towns at one end joined the hills and at the other were situated on the coast." I do not propose to join in this controversy on the Chinese translation, but I feel bound to remark that the word *kiao* signifies, as a general rule, 'crossing, exchange, mingling,' and that the expression 'situated at the crossing (or intermingling) of the seas' is a very apt rendering of the geographical idea which Ptolemy adopted for the *aphetêrion.*

"To find a sufficiently conspicuous promontory along the eastern coast, one has to travel as far as point Palmyras, which marks the beginning of the Gangetic delta, situated in 20° 44′ 40″ N. and 87° 2′ E, to the north of the mouth of the Mahânadi. But Ptolemy locates the *aphetêrion* well to the south of the latter river, which he styles the Manadas, half-way between its mouth and the mouth of the Maisôlos, by which latter term he signifies both the Godâvari and the Kistna. Moreover, the deflected current which, during the south-west monsoon, runs from the coast of India to the coast of Burma, breaks away from the Indian coast in

approximately the 18th degree, in the vicinity of Chicacole and Kaliṅgapatam. Once more I repeat here the statement of Valentijn (1727), to which Yule drew attention (*Proceed. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1882) :—"At the beginning of February, a little boat was sailing to Pegu with a cargo loaded at Masulipatam . . . . From this point it followed the coast as far as the 18th degree North latitude, and there took to the open sea, in order to reach the opposite coast in about the 16th degree." As late as the seventeenth century maps of India, as for example that of William Blaeu, continued to show a bold promontory and a sharp bend of the coast, precisely according with Ptolemy's views, between the ports of Masulipatam and Bimlipatam (to the north of Vizagapatam in 17° 53′ 15″ N. and 83° 29′ 50″ E.)

"In conclusion, it would be scarcely wise to interpret Ptolemy's data for the whole of this locality too literally ; but the precision of his statements should not blind us to the real value of his information. He locates Paloura a little to the north of the *aphetêrion* : Pliny, on the contrary, starting from the mouths of the Ganges, mentions first "the promontory of the Calingae," and secondly,—and therefore further to the south, "the fortress of Dandagula." Thus Pliny places Dandagula within the country of "Calinga" : Ptolemy ignores the name of Kaliṅga, whether inland or coastal. Possibly we may recognise an echo of this famous name in the town of Kalliga, which Ptolemy, (LII, 1, 93) mentions among the inland cities of the Maisoloi. Pitundra, of which I shall speak hereafter, also figures in Ptolemy's list. I have already had occasion to remark the curious inversion whereby he transfers Tosali from Orissa to the territory of Pegu ; and I cannot help thinking that the whole of Orissa and a portion of the neighbouring countries have been subjected to a transfer of the same kind, in consequence probably of a confusion between the land-routes, running south by north, and the maritime routes, running west by east.

"Now that the name Dantakura is definitely proved to be a geographical designation analogous to or identical with Dantapura, one is hardly surprised to find the obscure word *kûra* occurring in the name of the kingdom of Kûraka-râṣṭra, which included the village of Bhukkukûra granted by King Indravarman during his residence at Dantapura. The editor of the grant, Mr. Ramadas, expresses his surprise at meeting in it the term *râṣṭra* (kingdom), in view of the fact that the provinces of Kaliṅga are elsewhere termed *visaya*. Possibly 'the kingdom Kûraka' or 'kingdom of Kûra,' was an ancient expression, consecrated by long usage, signifying the territory adjacent to the capital Dantapura.

"This curious word *kûra*, which seems to be used alternatively with the Sanskrit *pura* to designate, in combination with *danta*, the capital of Kaliṅga, recalls by analogy the final syllables of the name of the town which Ptolemy writes Hippokoura (VII, 1, 83). Hippokoura is situated in the southern portion of Ariake, to the south of Paithana (Paithan on the Godâvari) and Tagara (Ter in Naldrug), and to the north of Banaonasei (Banavasi in Mysore). Like Dantakûra, Hippokoura is a royal capital ; it is *basileion Baleokourou*, 'the royal residence of Baleokouros'. The name of the king also appears to embody the element *kûra*. Baleokouros is without doubt an approximate transliteration of the mysterious Viḷivâyakura, —a word which appears, coupled with the name of Sâtakarṇi Vâsiṣṭhîputra and Sâtakarṇi Gautamîputra, on a peculiar type of coin, differing from the usual coinage of these two kings and found only in the southern part of the Marâṭhâ country, or more precisely in the Kolhapur State, an area which in situation corresponds very closely with the directions given by Ptolemy for Hippokoura. As to the title Viḷivâyakura, I can only repeat what Mr. Rapson writes in his excellent *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty*, 1908 : "No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Viḷivâyakura and Sivalakura." Sivalakura, which is coupled in the same way with the name of King Mâḍharîputra, also contains this element *kura*.

"The name Hippokoura reappears, in the Tables of Ptolemy (VII, 2, 6), as the name of a port situated in the immediate vicinity, and a little southward, of Simulla (Chaul, 23 miles

south of Bombay). The Periplus makes no mention of it. Since this second Hippokoura is located by Ptolemy on the coast of Ariakê, which he distinguishes by the name of Ariakê Sadinôn, one may well ask whether we are not here dealing with the original Hippokoura, transferred to the seashore from its proper location by an erroneous interpretation of routes.

"One is tempted to identify the final *koura* in Hippokoura with *kourai*, which appears like a plural termination in the name Sôsikourai (VII, 1, 10). Sôsikourai is unquestionably identical with Tuticorin; and *kourai* is clearly the equivalent of the Tamil word *kuḍi*, signifying 'place of habitations, town' (see the quotations s. v. *Tuticorin* in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*). On the other hand the identification of *kûra* with *kourai* is open to serious doubt.

"Whatever the meaning of the term *kûra* may be, the identity of Paloura with Dantapura seems definitely established. Thus Pliny and Ptolemy provide new data in the geography of Ancient India, enabling us to identify the site of a great city of antiquity. The alternative use of the words Paloura-Dantapura shows also that in the age of Ptolemy the Dravidian language shared the territory of Kaliṅga with Aryan forms of speech. In these days also, Chicacole, Kalingapatam, and the Palakonda tâluka are in the Telugu-speaking region; the boundary between the Aryan and Dravidian tongues lies plainly more to the north, about half-way between Chicacole and Ganjam (cf. *Linguistic Survey*, IV, 577)."

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE KAVERI, THE MAUKHARIS AND THE SANGAM AGE, BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN. University of Madras, 1925.

I am not surprised that this thesis won the Sankara-Parvati Prize of the Madras University for 1924, as in 122 pp. of rather small print it contains enough historical research to keep a student busy for a month in order to assimilate it. Mr. Aravamuthan has sat down to his work with all the detachment of a lawyer asked to give his opinion on the evidence laid before him, only in this case he has collected the evidence himself. The result is an investigation which is altogether admirable.

The book investigates in a wonderfully detailed examination certain statements of the Tamil Śaṅgam as to invasions of North India by Tamil kings. One has often heard of the invasions of South India by the kings from the North, but here we have a story of reverse statement, of which there has been practically no investigation. The thesis goes, however, much further. It attempts to fix the dates of these invasions and hence of the Śaṅgam, following up this attempt by an essay on the Kâvêri "an excursus into a subject hitherto untouched," and another on the Maukharis of Magadha.

In his preface Mr. Aravamuthan draws attention to four footnotes on p. iv: (*a*) the probability of Âdityasêna, the later Gupta having invaded the Chola country: (*b*) an identification of a temple in Mâlwa as probably one built by the Mâlwa kings in honour of the Tamil goddess 'Our Lady of Chastity': (*c*) an explanation of the origin of the names Śatakarṇi and Śatavâhaṇa: (*d*) a theory that the Kâvêri might have changed its course some miles to the west of Kumbhakonam." I have quoted the preface here in full, as my own attention in the course of the perusal of the book was forcibly drawn thereto.

Enough has been said above to show the extraordinary interest and value of this work as to ancient Indian history, but space forbids my following Mr. Aravamuthan in his many arguments. The general result, as I read it, is that the Śaṅgam writers refer to three Tamil kings having invaded Northern India as far as the Himâlayas—Karikâlaṇ, Śaṅguṭṭuvan, and the latter's father, Imayavarambaṇ. The dates of them all are within 25 years of each other and they had for *protégés* some of the Śaṅgam authors. So if their dates can be fixed, that of the Śaṅgam is also fixed. Assuming then that the Śaṅgam statements as to these three kings are reliable, the step necessary to fix the dates of their expeditions is to find the period in which the countries between South India and the Himâlayas were weak enough to admit of the Southern armies being able to penetrate as far as the Himâlayas.

It will be perceived that the question is of great historical importance, as it fixes the date of the Śaṅgam. But the first question to settle is the reliability of the statements of the Śaṅgam authors as regards the expeditions of the three kings, Karikâlaṇ, Śeṅguṭṭuvaṇ and Imayavarambaṇ. Into this point Mr. Aravamuthan goes in the minutest manner, and his conclusion is that "the historicity of the invasions" of the three kings "is indisputable." As to the corollary of the date of these invasions, Mr. Aravamuthan considers that "in the general state of our knowledge of Indian history we might be safe in fixing the close of the third century A.D. as the lower limit." That then is a date for the Śaṅgam. The reader will perceive that for all his care in research Mr. Aravamuthan is still most cautious.

Karikâlaṇ, the greatest of the early Cholas, among other things, built flood-banks for the Kâvêri. This has remained as his chief achievement in the popular mind. Among those who had to help in the great work was a feudatory king named Mukari. He was not a Tamil and Mr.

Aravamuthan suggests that he was a Maukhari of Magadha. This sets him on a special enquiry, including a valuable review of North Indian history from B.C. 320 to A.D. 650. It also leads him to an examination of the history of the Kâvêri with reference to Mukari as a possible place name, and he decides that "Mukari" cannot be one. Mr. Aravamuthan then goes into the obscure history of the Maukhari clan of Magadha and their possessions, with the patience that distinguishes the rest of his work.

The above is the veriest outline of the substance of this extraordinarily full book, and I now turn to notice some of the notes. First, there is an exceedingly ingenious footnote to p. 31 to show that Âdityasêna, the Later Gupta, invaded the Chola kingdom in A.D. 674 with Vikramâditya I, the Western Chalukya. This note is well worth study. Another note equally worth attention is one (p. 41) on a suggestion that the cult of Pattini-Devi, 'Our Lady of Chastity' spread to Eastern Mâlwa. Then there is a well thought out note on the names Śatavâhana and Śatakarṇi as those respectively of a race and its kings, both meaning possibly "a hundred ships"—a new equivalence for them. To these must be added the whole story of the Kâvêri River and its changes, which is admirably told. In reading this, sight should not be lost of the long footnote on pp. 118-122 on Paḷaikâvêri and Paḷaiyaru.

So far Mr. Aravamuthan has himself drawn attention to his notes, but I would add one or two more on my own account. On p. 28 there is an identification of Vajra as a kingdom mentioned beside Magadha and Avanti. As to the latter there is no difficulty, but Vajra presents many, though it may fairly be accepted now as having extended from the banks of the Son in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal, so that it touched the sea and skirted the Son.

At pp. 101-102 is a remarkable suggestion which I merely quote in full in order to draw attention to it. It gives a probable origin of Harsha's greatness: "The possibility of the Maukharis having been able to control all these territories during a period when the Vardhanas of Thanesar are not known to have been very powerful, and the circumstance that the Vardhana line comes to the forefront on the extinction of the Maukhari dynasty, suggests a rather startling conclusion in respect of the origins of Harsha's greatness. If the Maukharis had before Grahavarman's days extended their power over the major portion of North India, if before Harsha the Vardhanas of Thanesar were inconspicuous rulers—which there is no reason to doubt—and if Harsha ostensibly placed Grahavarman's widow, Râjya-Srî, on the throne and himself professed to be only a 'Kumara', we have adequate basis for a belief that Harsha came into an empire by stepping dexterously into the shoes of the Maukharis."

With these inadequate remarks I close my observations on one of the fullest books on history that it has been my fortune to peruse. I should add these there is an excellent index for which scholars will no doubt be grateful.

R. C. TEMPLE.

PANTSCHAKHYANA-WÂRTTIKA, vollständig verdeutscht von JOHANNES HERTEL. 1923, Verlag: H. Haessel, Leipzig.

The booklet under review is the sixth volumeof a well-known German series *Indische Erzähler.* The former volumes of this series contained translations from Sanskrit, but this one is from Old-Gujarâtî, a novelty inasmuch as it is the first complete attempt of the kind. The original text was edited by the same learned scholar in 1922 (Markert and Petters, Leipzig. The book can also be had of Harshachand Bhurabhai, Benares) and its contents have been made known to the public by him still earlier, in 1914, in his well known work on the *History and Spread of the Pañcatantra.* The chief interest of the book lies in the fact of its being quite popular. The stories have been taken, as Hertel has shown, not only from the *Pañcatantra* but also from other sources. They depict the actual conditions of Indian life among common classes. Again the style is not at all learned, but very simple: just one suited to the people. And the translator has tried to imitate it in his German. It goes without saying that it is very difficult to edit and translate a text written in an unknown language, especially when the MS. is full of mistakes and when the words are not separated therein. Mistakes in the edition due to haste have been corrected in the translation. Some of them have been noted in the second appendix of this work, and the careful reader will find that others too have been silently corrected. It is no wonder therefore if the writer of these lines suggests some corrections elsewhere. Numerous footnotes deal with grammatical and exegetical points. The introduction touches upon the author and the language of the text, the latter subject being continued in the first appendix with detailed discussion upon some words. The whole book gives a fair idea of manners and customs, beliefs and superstitions of India not very old, and some pieces are really charming as stories. Thus it is both interesting and instructive. Its importance to the students of the Old-Gujarâtî language cannot be too much emphasized. Prof. Hertel has prepared grammatical and glossarial studies on this and other old Gujarâtî works. Their publication should no longer be delayed, and we hope that the learned author will soon find time for it.

J. C. TAVADIA.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CAREER OF GURU HARGOVIND.

BY INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

(*Continued from page* 71.)

III. Hargovind at Kiratpur.

The battle of Kartarpur is said to have been fought in 1634, and as Hargovind immediately withdrew to Bhagwara and thence in haste to Kiratpur, he might have reached the latter place in the very same year.[94] The Sikhs state that the city of Kiratpur had been founded by Baba Gurditta, the eldest son of Hargovind, and that it was named Kiratpur, because "God's praises (*Kirat*) were ever to be sung there." [95] Hargovind now made it his permanent residence and appears to have lived here till his death in 1645.

We do not know much about Hargovind's life at Kiratpur. It seems that he eagerly availed himself of the peace and tranquillity that the secure retreat offered, and which he so much needed after the trials and anxieties of his previous adventures. But it is said that even here in his retirement he could not entirely avoid military operations. Two of his exploits are mentioned. The first was an "expedition to Nanakmata in the Tarai near Naini Tal, whose *faqîr* Almast, the Udasi, complained that he had been expelled from his shrine by the Jogis, who had also burnt the *pipal* tree, under which Guru Nanak had held debate with the followers of Gorak Nath." [96] Hargovind had absolutely no difficulty in rescuing the shrine and putting Almast in possession of it. The Guru remained there for some time and "busied himself with the organization of a methodical Sikh service under the guidance of Almast". Since then 'the place has borne the undisturbed name of Nanakmata, and remained in the possession of Udasi Sikhs.'[97] It is to be noticed, however, that both Macauliffe[98] and Gyan Singh[99] place this event much earlier, the former even before Hargovind's first open breach with the Moghul Government, and that it was after all a very tame affair which we cannot certainly count among the military exploits of Hargovind. Secondly, the Guru is said to

94 We need not enter into any chronological discussion with regard to the second period of Hargovind's career. It seems that the Sikh records can perhaps be safely followed. Hostilities commenced immediately after the accession of Shah Jahan, and the battle of Amritsar was fought, as the Sikhs state, in 1628 or in 1629. Hargovind retired to Kartarpur and then to Ruhela, forcibly took possession of it and defeated the small contingent sent by the Subahdar of Jullundhar. He, however, feared that a stronger army would soon be sent against him and consequently retired to the wastes of Bhatinda. There he met the Imperialists, who were compelled to retire, and it does not seem improbable that this happened, as the Sikhs state, early in 1631. The Guru could not return to Kartarpur immediately, and the *Panth Prakash* states (p. 117) that he remained in the hills for about 3 years and came down to Kartarpur in 1634. Hostility seem to have broken out immediately and the Guru thought it prudent to retire to Kartarpur the very same year. There seems nothing impossible in the above account, and the Sikh records cannot possibly be more than a year or two off the mark.

95 Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. IV, pp. 140-142.

96 *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, p. 684. It is said that 'this or another Almast had been deputed by this, the sixth Guru, to Shujatpur near Dacca and had there founded a *sangat*. This *sangat* at Shujatpur was called after Natha Sahib, third in succession to this Almast.' It is significant that "the inscription on a stone in the well of this *sangat* commemorates the name of the original founder and his "Mother Lodge" of Nanakmata. This new *sangat* was not named Nanakmata, but it was under the Lodge at Nanakmata in Naini Tal, and its priests were appointed or removed by the head at that place." (Gurbaksh Singh's *Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal, Dacca Review*, 1916, p. 228.) In Macauliffe it is stated that Hargovind had sent Bidhi Chand to some untraceable island in the Bay of Bengal. (Vol. IV, p. 216.) Sikh activities outside of the Punjab in or about this time are clearly established in the valuable paper of Gurbaksh Singh already referred to. (*Dacca Review*, 1915, 1916.) Mohsun Fani also states that Hargovind had sent a Sikh named Sadah to bring horses from Balkh (*Dabistan*, vol., p. 284).

97 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 50-54.

98 *The Sikh Religion.*

99 *Panth Prakash*, p. 116.

have joined forces with Raja Tarachand and helped him to defeat the Nawab of Rupar in 1642.[100] Mr. Rose makes this statement on the authority of Khazan Singh, but we have not been able to trace the information in any reliable authority.

It is again claimed by the Sikhs that Hargovind acquired a very great influence over the Hill Rajas, many of whom are said to have been converted to Sikhism. It is stated that in the days of Amar Das the Raja of Haripur had accepted Sikhism,[101] and that the hill Rajas of Kulu, Suket, Haripur and Chamba visited Guru Arjan and became his followers, as the Raja of Mandi had previously done.[102] Guru Hargovind is said to have converted the Rajas of Kangra and Philibit,[103] so that when he retired to Kiratpur, the hold of Sikhism over the hill tracts seems to have been clearly established. It appears that Mohsun Fani also says the same thing. In this connection he narrates a very interesting story. The inhabitants of the country of Raja Tarachand worshipped idols, and on the summit of a fortified mountain they raised an image of Narayana, whither Rajas and other eminent persons made pilgrimages. When Hargovind went to that place, a Sikh named Bhairo entered the temple and struck off the nose of the idol. The Rajas complained to the Guru, but Bhairo denied the deed. The servants of the Rajas, however, declared that they positively knew the man. Bhairo replied : "O Rajas, ask you the god ; if he tells my name, kill me." The Rajas said : "You blockhead ! how shall the god speak ?" Bhairo laughed and answered : "Now it is clear who is the blockhead : if the god cannot defend his head nor point out the man who struck him, what benefit do you expect from him, and why do you venerate his strength ?" Bhairo's answer is said to have had tremendous influence, and Moshun Fani says that 'from this time the disciples of the Guru increased considerably, and in this mountainous country, as far as the frontiers of Thibet and Khota, the name of Musalman was not heard.[104]' Subsequent events, however, clearly prove that Sikhism never succeeded in making any headway in the hills, and that the Hill Rajas remained to the last the most implacable enemies of Guru Govind and his cause. The Kangra Hills have always been the greatest stronghold of Hinduism, and throughout this tract the ascendency of a type of Rajput society is well-marked.[105] Political privilege, social exclusiveness and tribal pride, all combined to induce the Hill Rajas to present a united front against Sikhism, and Govind's mission in the hills proved a conspicuous failure. It is thus evident that even if there had been a movement in favour of Sikhism during the days of Hargovind, it was only temporary. It seems, however, that Hargovind lived in friendly relations with the Hill Rajas ; and that he had gained a considerable reputation, is proved by the fact that Perah Kaivan, Yazdanian, was moved by the name of the Guru and came to pay him a visit.[106]

We would now close the account of Hargovind by referring to a very notable affair connected with his death. Mohsun Fani says that when Hargovind's body was put upon the pyre and the fire rose up in high flames, a Rajput named Raja Ram precipitated himself into the fire and expired. Raja Ram was followed by a Jat, who was in the service of Hargovind's son-in-law. And many other Sikhs would have followed Raja Ram's example, if Har Rai had not forbidden it.[107] This shows how very devotedly Hargovind's followers were attached to him, and explains, to some extent, his successes against heavy odds.

---

100 Khazan Singh, p. 139.
101 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 62 ; Narang, *ibid.*, p. 26.
102 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 70.
103 *Panth Prakash.*
104 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 276.
105 *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 5, 6
106 *Dabistan*, vol. II, p. 280.
107 *Ibid.*

VYAGHRA, THE UCHCHAKALPA.

BY PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL.

TANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

A NEW inscription, discovered in 1919 at Ganj in the Ajaigaṛh State of Bundelkhaṇḍ was published in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. XVII, p. 12) in January 1925. It is a short inscription :—" Vyâghradeva, who meditates on the feet of the Mahârâja, the illustrious Pṛithivishêṇa, of the family of the Vâkâṭakas, has made this, for the sake of the religious merit of his parents."

On this statement the following questions arise :—Who was this Vyâghradêva ? Who was Pṛithivishêṇa the Vâkâṭaka ? What is the date of the inscription ? These questions are answered in an uncertain manner in the article in the *Epigraphia Indica.* My own opinion is, however, that, on the contrary, we have here, despite the incertitude of Central Indian history, an instance of quite clear precision.

Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, 1890, p. 227) has affirmed that the Uchchakalpas employed the Trikûta Era. In my opinion this is incorrect, and my own idea is that the inscriptions of the Uchchakalpas are dated in the Gupta Era. About the year A.D. 511, there were in this part of Central India two neighbouring kingdoms, and to make their boundaries clear their respective kings set up at Bhumarâ a boundary pillar (*Gupta Insc.*, p. 111). Assuming that these kings were using the Gupta Era, it is easy to determine their date. One of the two, Hastin of the Parivrâjaka family, was a feudatory of the Guptas, and his inscriptions (*Gupta Insc.*, pp. 95, 102, 107, 114) prove that he was reigning in A.D. 475, 482 and 511. The other, Śarvanâtha of the Uchchakalpa family, is mentioned in the inscriptions at Bhumarâ, and of him we have three inscriptions (*Gupta Insc.*, pp. 126, 133 and 136), which are dated in the years A.D. 512, 516, 533. This Śarvanâtha was the son of a king called Jayanâtha (A.D. 493 and 496 *G. Inscrip.*, pp. 118 and 122), and grandson of a Vyâghra. The date at which this Vyâghra was reigning can be determined approximately. In fact, his son was reigning in A.D. 493 and 496. He himself was therefore reigning about A.D. 475. His son's inscriptions have been found (at Kârîtalâî and Khoh) in the Nagaudh State of Baghalkhaṇḍ and near Muḍwârâ in the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces. In that region we find the Vyâghra kingdom, and it is precisely in the same region that the Inscription of Ganj has been discovered, telling us that Vyâghra was the vassal of Pṛithivisheṇa the Vâkâṭaka. We cannot but conclude that about the year A.D. 475—that is to say, during the reign of Vyâghra, the Uchchakalpa, there was reigning a Vâkâṭaka called Pṛithivishêṇa.

In my work *The Ancient History of the Deccan* I have attributed approximately (p. 110) to the Vâkâṭaka Pṛithivishêṇa II the date A.D. 475. In short, a chronology of the family can be thus made out :—

Chandra-Gupta II (*c.* A.D. 375—415).
|
Queen Prabhâvatî
wife of Rudrasena II and regent during the minority
of his son Pṛavarasеṇa (see *JRAS.*, Jan. 1924, p. 95).
|
Pṛavarasеṇa II (*c.* first half of 5th century).
|
Narendrasеṇa (*c.* A.D. 450).
|
Pṛithivisheṇa II (*c.* A.D. 475).

Also about A.D. 475 there was reigning at Ganj and Nâchnâ (*Gupta Insc.*, p. 234) in Bundelkhaṇḍ a powerful sovereign, Pṛithivisheṇa the Vâkâṭaka. His vassal was the Uchchakalpa king Vyâghra.

MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

FROM THE COLLECTION MADE BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

(*Continued from page 88.*)

III.

Some Marriage Songs of the Khattrîs.

This is an incomplete set of six songs recorded by Prabhu Dayâl and Benî Mâdhav, both Khattrîs of the Town School, Itâwâ.

1. Âj kî ratîyâṅ—To-night.

This is a song to the bridegroom as a small child.

Text.

Hariâle Bannâ, âj kî ratîyâṅ, khel le lo lasîyâṅ.
Chirâ tumhârâ khûb banâ,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ.
Khalgîṅ sambhâraiṅ sab sakhiyâṅ.
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ.
Bâgâ tumhârâ khûb banâ,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ.
Patukâ tumhârâ khub banâ,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ
Jhâlar samhâraiṅ sab sakhîyâṅ,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ.
Motî tumhârî khub banî,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ.
Laṛya samhâraîṅ sab sakhîyâṅ,
Banne, âj kî ratîyân.
Pahunchî tumhârî khûb banî,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ.
Phundan sambhâraiṅ sub sakhîyâṅ,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ.
Mojâ tumhârâ khûb banâ,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ,
Jûtâ pahnâwaiṅ sab sakhiyâṅ,
Banne, âj kî ratîyâṅ.

Translation.

Green[31] Bridegroom, to-night let us play a game.
Your turban is well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company[32] is supporting the *kalangî*,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your cloak is well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your girdle is well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company supports the fringe,
Bridegroom to-night.

31 Young, bright.

32 *Sakhî*, is a *female* companion.

Your pearls are well put on,
Bridegroom to night.
Your company is supporting the strings of pearls,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your wristlet is well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company is supporting its flowers[33],
Bridegroom to-night.
Your socks are well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company puts on your shoes for you,
Bridegroom to-night.

2. Manohar Sâṁvarê—O swarthy charmer.

Text.

Tîr dhanûhiyân bâṅs kî khelaiṅ ajab darbâr,
Manohar sâṅwarê.
Tum nikro, kuṅwar mere, bâhare laghu nâpat ûbai dwâr.
Manohar sâṅwarê.
Thunthe kuṅwar nahîṅ pâoṅ de dwâre bich,
Manohar sâṅwarê.
Lâlâ pâg Pathânî atî banî sir jhâlar ko mor.
Kânêṅ kundal ati bane sir chandan kî khorî.
Nainâṅ surmâ ati bane : bhar mukh chabhaiṅ pân,
Manohar sâṅwarê.
Kumar ko patukâ ati bano jhâlar desh ujâr,
Manohar sâṅwarê.
Kesariyâ jâmâ ati bano takhtîṅ lagi izâr.
Manohar sâṅwarê.
Janhgiâṅ sûthan ati banî pindurpan kachnâr,
Manohar sâṅwarê.
Pâyâṅ kanorâ ati bano ; angûthâṅ chârî majîth.
Hâth chakar mundrâ : tîrwâṅ kanchan dor,
Manohar sâṅwarê.

Translation.

With bow and arrow of bamboo plays wonderfully in the *darbâr,*
The swarthy charmer.
Go out, my prince, your younger brother is tired of waiting at the door,
O swarthy charmer.
The graceless prince steps not out of the door,
O swarthy charmer.
The red turban is Pathân-like and the twist of the fringe is beautiful.
Beautiful the rings in his ears and the *sandal* marks on his forehead.
Beautiful the antimony in his eyes, and he chews the betel in his mouth,
O swarthy charmer.
Beautiful the girdle at his waist, with the fringe that depopulates the country[34].
O swarthy charmer.

---

[33] The *phundan* is a small ball of thread like a flower fastened on to the wristlet.

[34] *I.e.*, the people will leave hearth and house to look at it closely.

The saffron garment is well made with bands[35] attached in places,
O swarthy charmer.
The trowsers on his legs are well made and round the waist he is green[36],
O swarthy charmer.
On his feet he wears a *kanorâ*[37], and black rings on his thumbs.
On his hands are large rings and golden strings are attached to his arrows,
O swarthy charmer.

3. Naiksârâ Baighan Birulâ Hâlai—As Baighans Tremble.

Text.

Naiksârâ baighan birulâ hâlai aur mag dolai arî e juginâ sang lâgâ re.
Chîr lâgi suhâg pathaiho : kalgî lâgi, piyâre : jâmaiṅ lâgi sahâg pathaihôṅ.
Bindu lâgi piyâre moje lâgi suhâg pathaihoṅ.
Jal bharat hindor hindor rasârî resham kî.
Resham rasariyâṅ jabṅîkî lagaiṅ jab sone gharal na ho.
Sone gharalwâ jab niko lagai jab moti lajuriyâ hoyâ.
Motî lejuriyâ jab nikî lagai patalî sî dhaniyâṅ hoṅyâ.

Translation.

The two breasts tremble like *baighans* when in company with the girl.
A turban to the bridegroom shall I send, furnished with *kalangî*, my dear ; and auspicious things[38] to the bridegroom shall I send.
Things furnished with *bindu*, my dear, with pearls to the bridegroom shall I send.
She draws water (from the well) with a silken rope moving it again and again[39].
Beautiful is the rope of silk when the pitcher is of gold.
Beautiful is the golden pitcher when the rope is studded with pearls.
Beautiful is the slender maiden when the rope is studded with pearls.

4. Vidyâ Jaipûr kî Mahârâj—The Wisdom of The Mahârâjâ of Jaipur[40].

Text.

Vidyâ Jaipûr kâ Mahârâj : vidyâ Jaipûr kî.
Aisâ koî hai jo mujhe khânâ khilâwai ;
Khânâ bâbarchî kâ Mahârâj : khânâ babarchî kâ ?
Aisâ koî hai jo mujhe bîrâ khilawai ;
Bîrâ Mahobe kâ Mahârâj : bîrâ Mahobe kâ ?
Aisâ koî hai jo mujhe sejujâṅ salawai ;
Mahârâj, sejiyâṅ amîroṅ kî ! Vidyâ Jaipûr kî !

Translation.

The learning of the Mahârâjâ of Jaipûr, the learning of Jaipûr !
Is there any one who give me a dinner ;
A dinner from the Mahârâjâ's cook, a dinner from the cook ?
Is there any one who can give me the betel of the Mahârâjâ ;
Betel of the Mahârâja of Mahobâ, betel of Mahobâ.[41]
Is there any one who can put me to sleep on a bed ;
Mahârâjâ the bed of the noble ! The learning of Jaipûr !

---

35 These bands are called *angarkâ band*.
36 Wears a green garment.
37 Some kind of ornament.
38 Such as *rorî*.
39 In order to displace the scum on the water, *i.e.*, skilfully.
40 The astronomical achievements of Mahârâjâ Jaisingh of Jaipûr have won him much mythical fame in North Indian villages as a "wise man."
41 This refers to another story altogether,—the Legend of Alhâ and Udal.

5. Siyâ Bar Kaisâ Salonâ—How charming is the Bridegroom.

Text.

Shyâm siyâ bar kaisâ salonâ.
Sîtâ kâ bar kaisâ salonâ.
Mor mukat makarâkrit : kundal tamê rekh lagâî kajare kî.
Shyâm siyâ bar kaisa salonâ.
Jiyarâ morâ dag mag dolat koî sakhî iṅ pardâlai na honâ.
Balihârî yah mukatwâle kî. Âkhir moṅhîṅ tumhâre sang jânâ.
Dekho : siyâ bar kaisâ salonâ.

Translation.

How charming [42] is the swarthy bridegroom !
How charming is the bridegroom of Sîtâ ! [43]
His peacock crown has the form of a spider [44] : a streak of lamp-black has found its way into it.
I am uneasy lest some woman may charm him as he walks in the street.
I am a sacrifice to the wearer of the crown. In the end I must go with thee.
See, how charming is the bridegroom !

6. Zulmî Nainâ Kahâṅ Lejâûn—Where shall I take these tyrannous eyes.

Text.

Mahârâj, e zulmî nainâ kahâṅ lejâûṅ ?
Râm maike jâûṅ, rahan nahiṅ pâûṅ : sasure âûṅ, dewar lalchâi.
Râm, e zulmî nainâ kahâṅ lejâûṅ ?
Âle dharûṅ bilaiâ lap kai : chappar par dharûṅ, chilh mandrâyâ.
Râm, e zulmî nainâ kahâṅ lejâûṅ ?

Translation.

Mahârâj, where shall I take these tyrannous eyes ?
If I go to Râm's [45] house, I may not stay : if to my father's, my husband's younger brother covets them.
Râm, where shall I take these tyrannous eyes ?
If I put them on the shelf, the cat seizes them : if on the roof, the kite hovers over them.
Râm, where shall I take these tyrannous eyes ?

(To be continued.)

---

42 The term *salonâ* means salty, full of salt, and is used to express special charm in a man or woman.
43 Allusion here to the story of Sîtâ and Râma.
44 The circular crown of the bridegroom is called *makra*, a spider.
45 Figuratively for "my mother's house."

SIDE-LIGHTS ON DECCAN VILLAGE LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

Mr. Surendranath Sen in his *Administrative System of the Marâṭhâs* has referred more than once to a volume of selections from the diary of the Râja of Satâra, which was prepared by Râo Bahâdur Gaṇesh Chimnâjî Vad in 1902. The Volume contains a variety of information relating to political, military, revenue, judicial and social affairs during the reign of Sivâjî II, otherwise known as Shâhu, who ascended the Marâṭhâ throne of Satâra in 1708 and died in 1749. Some of the entries in the official record of his administration throw an interesting side-light on the manners and customs of the age, and indicate the extent to which old religious rites and superstitions figured in the routine administration of the autonomous village-communities of Mahârâshṭra.

The Pâṭel and the Pâṭelki *watan* naturally occupy a prominent place in the record. The Pâṭel's responsibilities as head of the village-community were far from trivial, but he received in return for his services various rights and perquisites of sufficient value to render the *watan* worth retention and preservation at all costs. Thus, for example, in the case where the Pâṭel of a village in the *Subha* of Khujaste Baniyâd (*i.e.*, Aurangâbâd) sold a half-share of his *watan*, the vendee acquired, *inter alia*, a right of precedence (*a*) in the presentation of a ritual cake at the *Holi*, (*b*) in the annual processions in honour of Gaṇeśa and Gaurî ; (*c*) in the matter of the *kaḍakaṇâ* or *kaḍakaṇen*, which signifies primarily a circular piece of paper, cut into indentations, suspended above an idol on the *Navarâtra* and similar occasions, and secondarily, a thin oil-fried cake made in the same shape ; (*d*) at the annual *Poḷa* procession, the *Poḷa* being a bull dedicated to the gods, which was marked with a trident and discus and permitted to wander at large. He also acquired a prior claim to the decoration of his house with festoons of flowers by the Mâng and with red-ochre by the Mahâr, and to the supply of water by the village Koḷî, who figures among the *Bârâ Alute* in Grant Duff's list of hereditary village-servants as the recognized water-carrier of the village. As against the vendee of the half-share, the *watandar* Pâṭel retained a prior right to the paper kite presented by the village *Gurav*, to the performances of the village-musicians at the *Dasahra*, to *ṭiḷâpiḍâ* or the anointing with sandal and the presentation of leaves at public ceremonies, to the worship of the *apṭa* (*Bauhinia tomentosa*) at the *Dasahra* and the worship of the *tulśî*, to *Harijâgara* or the vigil kept on lunar days in honour of Vishṇu, and to precedence in the annual *Śirâḷśet* procession, *Śirâḷśet* being a legendary corn-chandler who became king for a short time, and an earthen image of whom is worshipped, carried in procession, and thrown into a well or tank. He also retained the prior claim to receive a bundle of fuel from the village Mahâr.

In cases of dispute about village-boundaries the Pâṭel filled an important rôle, as for example in 1744, when, other evidence having failed to establish the facts, the *panchâyat* asked the Pâṭel to put a cow's hide over his head and, so adorned, to walk step by step over the real boundary of the village. The Pâṭel did so, and was then kept under close watch for fifteen nights. As nothing untoward or harmful happened to him during this probationary period, the *panchâyat* declared that he had indicated truthfully the course of the village-boundary, and formally confirmed it. The idea underlying this procedure is that the Pâṭel, by putting the hide over his head and shoulders, becomes imbued with the divine influence of the sacred animal and must therefore speak the truth. If, by chance, he is so sinful as to do the opposite, the outraged divinity will visit him with various pains and penalties during the next ten or fifteen days, and on this account he has to be kept for that period in a kind of social quarantine. In Mysore the procedure in boundary-disputes was slightly different. There, according to Thurston, the *kuluvâdi*, an inferior village servant of the Holeya tribe, corresponding to the Mahâr in the Deccan, had to carry on his head a ball of

earth, with some water in the centre, and march along the boundary-line. If, wilfully or even by accident, he went beyond the true boundary, it was believed that the ball of earth would fall to pieces, and that the *kuluvâdi* himself would die in a fortnight and his house become a ruin. Here, as in the Deccan case, the Holeya, by acting falsely, incurs the wrath of the village-goddess, of whose divine presence the ball of earth, scraped up in the village, is the outward symbol.

We find the Mahâr of the Deccan filling the rôle of arbiter, like the Mysorean Holeya, in respect of a dispute about the Pâṭelkî *watan* of a village in the Poona *pargana* in 1741-42. As the usual official inquiry failed to show which of the two claimants had the right to officiate as Pâṭel, the Deshmukh and the Deshpâṇḍe were instructed to take the parties to the confluence of the Kṛishṇa and Venya rivers and there come to a decision with the help of a village Mahâr. On arrival at the *Saṅgam*, the two claimants were made to enter the water, while their caste-fellows bathed and lined the banks. The Mahâr was then summoned; and having likewise walked into the water, he seized one claimant by the right and the other by the left hand, declaring that he whom he held by the right hand was the rightful owner of the *watan*. The parties were then allowed to come ashore, and a period of ten nights was fixed as a test of the correctness of the Mahar's decision. The record shows that no harm befell the Mahâr during that period, and the ruler therefore issued a final order and *sanad* in accordance with his statement. The confluences of rivers have always possessed great sanctity in India, and it was doubtless understood by all concerned, from the Râja down to the *râyat*, that in this instance the deity of the confluence had given a decision through the voice of the Mahâr.

The Marâṭhâ government ordered the adoption of a somewhat similar procedure in the matter of a disputed claim to the *Shete watan* of Tasgaon in Miraj. The *watan* of Shete Mahâjan or *Shetepan*, according to Mr. Sen, was usually granted as a reward to an enterprising man for establishing a new suburb or market-town, and was supported and remunerated by fixed contributions from the shop-keepers and retail-traders. In the particular case referred to, after various attempts, including an ordeal on the banks of the Kṛishṇa, had been made to decide the dispute, one of the parties again approached the Râja's government, agreed to abide by the decision of the caste-people, and begged that an ordeal might again be held at the Kṛishṇa. The Deshmukh, the Deshpâṇḍe, and the *Baluta* were therefore summoned and questioned: and on their asserting that the rightful owner of the *Shete watan* was a certain Malkanna bin Bâḷashet, the latter was sent to the river Kṛishṇa at Mahuli in charge of some government officials. There he and his rivals were made to stand in the water, and the caste-people were told to lead out of the water the one whom they considered to be the true Shete Mahâjan. Their choice fell upon Malkanna, who, together with his supporters and relatives, was kept under guard at Mahulî for ten days. No ill befell them during the period, and Malkanna's possession of the *watan* was, therefore, formally sanctioned.

The record of Shâhu Râja affords various glimpses into the criminal administration of the villages, and the part played therein by the Pâṭel and others. A couple of she-buffaloes, which were stolen by Berads from a Silledar, resident in Jâmb village, Khaṭav district, were traced to Kaṭguṇ village, the Pâṭel of which agreed in writing to restore them to the Pâṭel of Jâmb. Instead of doing so, the Kaṭguṇ Pâṭel tried to palm off one barren and one old buffalo on the complainant. The Marâṭhâ government thereupon intervened and ordered him to fulfil his undertaking. The Berads, it may be mentioned, appear in the diary more than once as the prepetrators of thefts and robbery, and were clearly quite as troublesome in those days as they have been in more recent times. As was customary in the case of the Râmoshîs in other parts of the Deccan, a certain number of Berads, in charge of their own *nâiks* or headmen, were loosely attached to the villages in the southern districts, and in return for certain perquisites were expected to abstain from crime in the particular

villages with which they were connected, and to act as trackers and thief-catchers in the case of crime committed by outsiders. Thus, when cattle were stolen in 1752 from a village in Wâî, the Berads of the village, to which they were traced by the Pâṭel and his watchmen, were called up and told to produce the culprit. They did so, and the thief was ordered to restore the cattle on pain of forfeiting his life. On another occasion a robbery took place in the house of an uncle of the Râja, who lived in a village entrusted for watch and ward purposes to a Berad named Santal Râna. The latter was ordered at once to trace the theft and restore the stolen property, and then to present himself at head-quarters (Satara), where doubtless he was called upon to explain his failure to forestall the robbery. In yet another case, when property was stolen from the residence of the custodian of government cattle at Vâgholî, thirteen Berads—six from different forts and seven from different villages in Wâî district —were summoned to Satara and ordered to trace the theft. This system, which in fact, consisted in employing hereditary and professional criminals as part of the machinery for the prevention and detection of crime in rural areas, may have secured the recovery of a certain amount of stolen property, but was open to grave abuses and liable to degenerate rapidly in periods of disorder. Its defects are illustrated in the history of the Râmoshî Nâik, Umâjî, who headed the Râmoshî revolt in Poona and contiguous districts during the administration of Sir John Malcolm.[1]

One of the points which strikes the reader of these records is the lightness of the punishment awarded for murder. A man who murdered the son of a weaver and stole his ornaments was ordered to pay a sum of Rs. 550, of which Rs. 350 were declared to be compensation for the murder and the remaining Rs. 200 were payable as a fine to the government. Two men who killed a government Kârkûn in the course of a caste-dispute were placed in confiement at Satara, but were released on payment of a fine of Rs. 15,000 and permitted to carry on their usual business. On the other hand, when a Marâthâ employed at Vandangaḍ Fort discovered his mistress and her paramour together and killed them both, he was granted a free pardon and directed to undergo the necessary purification enjoined by Hindu lore. In thus lightly letting off the murderer, the Marâṭhâ government was perhaps anticipating the doctrine of grave and sudden provocation which is embodied in an important clause of the modern Indian Penal Code. The adulterer fared worse than the murderer, if one may judge by a curt entry of 1752-53 recording that a *Gaḍkari* of Mahimângaḍ Fort had been guilty of this offence, and was sentenced to be shot or thrown down a precipice. Women who misconducted themselves in this way, as Mr. Sen informs us, were usually sentenced to penal servitude and slavery, though occasionally they managed to purchase their liberty by the loss of their noses or by payment of a fine. It seems probable that male adulterers also were usually let off with something short of capital punishment. The severity of the fate awarded to the " Don Juan " of Mahimângaḍ may possibly have been due to the fact that he was a *mauvais sujet*, of whom the Marâthâ authorities welcomed an opportunity to rid themselves.

Slavery was a recognised institution among the Marâṭhâs of the eighteenth century, as it was among the Mughals and among the English also at the same period. The diary mentions a woman of Bâramatî, who consented to become a slave, and having been valued at Rs. 12, was given to one Keshav Ballâl Sabnîs in part payment of his salary. Ten female

[1] It seems possible that the word " Berad " is loosely used in the Râja's diary to signify " Râmoshi ". The two tribes have affinities, but are generally regarded in these days as separate social units, the former being found in the Southern Marâṭhâ country and the Madras Presidency and the latter in the Deccan proper. The Berads or Bedars were historically more notorious than the Râmoshîs, and it seems possible that the writers of the Marâṭhâ diaries used their name generically to signify any tribe of professional and hereditary forest-robbers and free-booters, whom it was found advantageous to include in the rural police system. It is probable, for example, that the " Berads of Wâi " were actually Râmoshis.

slaves, belonging to a member of the Râja's family, had their heads anointed with oil at the time of their mistress' death and were set free. The daughter of a female slave belonging to the Pâṭel of Ârḷe in Wâî was given in marriage to a male slave of one Bahirjî Dhâpṭe. The Government reprimanded the Pâṭel for permitting the girl's marriage and summoned him to head-quarters. The lot of a slave under Marâṭhâ rule, however, was by no means unhappy: he or she, as the case might be, was usually well treated, and was able on occasions to secure freedom. Mr. Sen quotes Jenkins' report on the condition of slaves at Nagpur, which proves that their treatment was not dissimilar to that accorded to slaves under the rule of Islam. The average Moslem regarded his slave, "not as a persecuted and miserable chattel, but as a well-treated household dependent, whose life was full of possibilities." Neither the Mughal nor the Marâṭhâ was guilty of the atrocious cruelties which characterised the Portuguese treatment of slaves in the sixteenth century; and it was perhaps no more than just retribution for their inhumanity, when the emperor Shâh Jahân, in 1629, had the whole Portuguese population of Hûglî sent as slaves to Agra.

Just as at one time English children used to engage in mimic warfare between French and English, so the amusements of the village-children of Mahârâshṭra seem sometimes to have been coloured by the political antagonism between Marâṭhâ and Mughal. One day in 1736 the boys of a village in Karḍe set out to pasture their cattle in the jungle, and met the boys of a village in Châmbhârgonde, engaged in the same duty. To pass the time, the boys arranged a fight between themselves, the Karde contingent representing the Mughal forces, and the Châmbhârgonde boys the Marâṭhâs. The fight lasted for five days and ended in a victory for the latter, who pursued the routed "Mughals" through the jungle. In the course of the pursuit a barber's son in the Karḍe force fell down exhausted, and died a few days later. His mother complained to the Kâzî at Ahmadnagar, who decided that the facts disclosed no evidence to sustain a charge of murder and issued a certificate to that effect. The woman, however, was not satisfied and bombarded one authority after another with her complaints, so that at last the Pâṭel of the village in Châmbhârgonde reported the case to the Râja of Satara and requested his orders. The Râja concurred with the opinion of the Kâzî, confirmed his decision, presented the Pâṭel of the Châmbhârgonde village with a robe of honour, and instructed the Pâṭel of Karḍe village to inform the dead boy's mother that her complaints must cease.

Real affrays between adults were not unknown and sometimes had more serious results. In 1752 one Jagdale of Masur village, on his way to celebrate the marriage of a relative, halted at Eksal in Koregâon. As the festival of *Shimga* happened to be near, the villagers of Eksal demanded a present from the marriage-party, which was refused. This led to an affray, in which some of the villagers were seriously injured, and a Parît, belonging to Jagdale's party, was killed. In fear of the consequences, presumably, the villagers completely evacuated their homes and absconded in a body. The Marâṭhâ government, on learning the facts, issued a *kaul* to Jagdale and the villagers of the Pant Pratînîdhî's *Jâgîr* to repopulate Eksal.

The Châmbhârgonde area of the Ahmadnagar district, which is known nowadays as Srígonda, figures again in a case, which indicates Hindu-Muhammadan religious antipathy. The Chaugula of Jintî, a township in Châmbhârgonde, joined the Marâṭhâ army and marched with it to Surat about 1720. There he was captured by the Mughals and was kept prisoner in their camp for a year, thus becoming automatically polluted and an outcaste. Subsequently he contrived to reach the army of Bâḷâjî Paṇḍit Pradhân, on its homeward march from Delhi, and returned with it to the Deccan. Having related all the facts to his caste-fellows in Jintî, they decided to re-admit the Chaugula to his caste, and this decision was reported for sanction to the Râja of Satara by the Pâṭels of several villages in Châmbhârgonde. The Râja approved the decision, subject to the proviso that the Chaugula should first undergo the purification-ceremonies enjoined by the *Shâstras*.

The diary proves that spells and witchcraft were not infrequently employed for the purpose of personal vengeance, despite the fact that the Marâthâ government regarded intercourse with the powers of darkness as an offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment. We read of Ganu Sonâr of Satara invoking evil spirits against the household of Kusâjî Jâdhav, with the result that Kusâjî's wife was taken ill. Though, in the opinion of the villagers, Ganu's malpractices were clearly proved, he took no steps to free the woman from the spirits' influence. He was, therefore, fined Rs. 20 by the government and directed to cure the lady. As to whether he did so or not, the official diary is silent. One would like to know whether Kusâjî's wife actually recovered, and what happened to Ganu in the event of her death. In another case a servant in Vandangaḍ Fort was charged with bewitching one Tukojî Chorkhatâ, who suffered considerably in consequence. An official order was sent to the officers of the fort to inquire into the matter and communicate the truth or otherwise of the report. Here again the diary gives no information as to the upshot of the enquiry and the ultimate fate of the wizard and his supposed victim.

Evil spirits were by no means the only bugbear of the Deccan villager. The administrative authorities were occasionally quite as tyrannous and unsympathetic as the local *bhuts*. In 1728 we read of Yesâjî Sonavaṇî acting oppressively in the Jalod *pargaṇa*, which he had been granted as *mokâsâ* by Khaṇḍerao Dâbhâḍe, and illegally imprisoning men and women. The government at Satara at length intervened, and ordered Dâbhâde to recall the unjust steward and send him to head-quarters. Similarly a Kamâvîsdâr in the Paithan *pargaṇa* was reported by the Faujdâr and Jamîdâr in 1744 to be behaving tyrannously, and even to be robbing Brahman women, who had gone to the river, of their ornaments and personal belongings. He received a severe reprimand from head-quarters. Phoṇḍ Sâvant Bhosale, Sardesâî of Kuḍâl, was likewise censured for keeping in confinement the wife of a Brahman, and informed that such behaviour was opposed to the principles of the religion of Mahârâshtrâ. Phoṇḍ Śâvant was compelled to restore the lady to her husband, but otherwise incurred no penalty. So long as the government, whether of the Râja of Satara or the Peshwâ, continued active in the discharge of its supervisory duties, the corruption and tyranny of the district officials were probably kept within certain bounds ; but directly the government itself deteriorated, as it did under Bâjî Râo Raghunâth, the oppression of the revenue and police officials became intolerable and the old village life of the Deccan became in consequence seriously disorganised.

An even more disturbing influence in the peaceful tenor of Deccan rural life was the inveterate addition of the upper-class Marâthâ chiefs and *jâgîrdârs* to swash-buckling and raiding, and there can be little doubt that this was a potent factor in the gradual disorganisation of the village administrative machinery. A few examples taken at random from the diary of the Râja of Satara will show that even in nominal periods of peace the villagers of Mahârâshṭra were not free from warlike 'alarums and excursions'. In 1715 Jânojî Nâîk Nimbâḷkar attacked Akluj, burnt the villages of Mâḷshiras and Meḍhad, and carried away women and cattle. He was reprimanded and told to return the cattle. In 1727 one Chaohâṇ marched against Tâsgâon with a body of 2000 men, and had to be opposed by force ; a few months later Nâgojî Jhañjhârrao Ghâtge pillaged the country round Shirvaḷ, removing the grain from the villagers' grain-pits, while Sidhojî Thorât stole all the cattle from the village of Vadolî Bhikeśvar. The only notice taken by the government of their action consisted of a reprimand and an order to return the stolen property. An officer in the service of Phoṇḍ Sâvant Bhosle of Kuḍal attacked a village in 1734 and carried away a family of Brahmans, including a girl of 9 years of age, who had been married to the brother of one of the Pant Pratînîdhî's Kârkûns. All the prisoners, excepting the girl, were set at liberty ; and, as in a case previously quoted, Phoṇḍ Sâvant had to be censured for keeping a Brahman

girl in confinement. His conduct was stigmatised by Satara as "unworthy even of a Muhammadan." These censures and reprimands appear to have failed of effect, for spasmodic raiding and looting continued unchecked. Yamâjî Paṇḍit's son was reported in 1752 to be plundering villages in Bâramatî; the Bâṇḍes were harassing the village of Mhesvaḍ; Udâjî Pavâr's son captured the *thana* of the same village and murdered the Pâṭel; Bâbâjî Jâdhav of Aundh carried off cultivators and cattle from one of Santâjî Ghâṭge's villager, and also from the village of Mainî, in charge of a member of the Mohite family. Men were not the only offenders and disturbers of the peace. Yesubâî Ḍaphle in 1753 attacked and plundered Savarde, arrested the Pâṭel, and released him on payment of a fine of Rs. 40; while Bachabâî, a member of the famous Ghâṭge family, made a large haul of cattle belonging to the Marâṭhâ government.

As one reads these references to cattle-raiding, one is irresistibly reminded of the people known to the early Tamils as Vadukar, who lived across the Tamil borders in Daṇḍâraṇyam, the Sanskrit Daṇḍakâraṅya, were governed by a number of petty chieftains, and followed the profession of cattle-rearing and cattle-raiding. The origin of the Marâṭhâs is still shrouded in obscurity; but the latest researches appear to indicate that they possess a marked aboriginal strain and are very ancient residents of Mahârâshṭra, including both the Deccan proper and the Carnatic. Close observers who dwelt among them at the end of the eighteenth century regarded them as composed not only of the Kunbî or agricultural section of the Deccan population, but also of the Dhangar and Gauli or shepherd and cow-herd tribes. Is it quite beyond the boundaries of possibility that in the primeval Vadukar of early Tamil literature we may discover the ancestry of at least one section of the people known in later ages as Marâṭhâs? If this were by chance true, it would form the basis of interesting speculations as to the historical connexion, if any, existing between the Marâṭhâs of the seventeenth and later centuries and the Mahâraṭhîs, Mahâsenâpatîs, Sâtavâhanas, and possibly also the mysterious Pallavas, of early days.

TO THE EAST OF SAMATATA (S.E. BENGAL).

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

IN January 1920, Professor P. B. Vidyavinod published a paper in *JRAS.*, entitled *To the East of Samatata,* on the six countries mentioned, but not visited, by Yuan Chwang. In this paper the Professor proposed new identifications for the places referred to by that traveller. In October 1920, M. Louis Finot, in a paper entitled *Hiuan-tsang and the Far East,* controverted the statements of Prof. Vidyavinod somewhat roughly in *JRAS.* So in July 1924, the Professor, in a paper entitled *To the East of Samatata* (second article), in *The Hindustan Review,* July 1924, replied to his critic. The old Chinese traveller has an unfortunate name. At any rate I long thought the correct method of rendering it in English to be Hiuen Tsiang, but for my present purpose I will call it Yuan Chwang.

The best way to regard the controversy is to state the identifications of Professor Vidyavinod categorically. Taking Samatata as his starting point in South Eastern Bengal, Yuan Chwang mentions in order "six countries he had heard of but could not see." It is over the identification of these six countries that the controversy has arisen. When I first saw Prof. Vidyavinod's paper in *JRAS.* it was obvious to myself that he had not taken into consideration the results of the vast researches into things Far Eastern accomplished by French students in the first two decades of this century. They were obviously not available to him. But nevertheless I was much interested in his effort, as an old student of geography in the regions alluded to by the old Chinese traveller. It was obvious also that the Professor's paper, if accepted, would upset all former research. He soon got his answer at the hands of M. Finot, who roundly wound up his remarks by stating that "the identifications previously accepted are just as firmly established as ever."

Four years later Professor Vidyavinod returned to his subject, and in 1924 produced a "reply to a critique of the first article." In it he vigorously attacks M. Finot point by point and adheres to his former opinion, and though I do not propose to intervene between the protagonists, I would point out that in Bengal Indian students have long carefully and learnedly searched into the secrets of the past of their own country and produced much work in Bengali alone, worthy of examination by European scholars. Likewise many French *savants* have searched into the antiquities of the Extreme Orient with a like knowledge. It would be well if each side were to know at first hand of the work of the other. I will only therefore here place as clearly as I can the situation as it has now been produced by Prof. Vidyavinod and M. Finot.

The first thing to do for the general reader is to produce a map showing the rival identifications, and this I have done in the map attached.

Then I come to a difficulty inherent in all such matters of controversy—the transcription of words and names. Here we have many languages to contend with and at least two systems of transliteration—French and English. As to languages we are mixed up with Chinese, Sanskrit, Pali, Bengali, Burmese, Siamese and Further Indian, not counting dialects. One could hardly have a more difficult set to deal with in reducing geographical names to a common denomination. or a situation more likely to lead to quarrels over the forms of words. In the circumstances I shall adhere to my own method and trust to scholars to understand it.

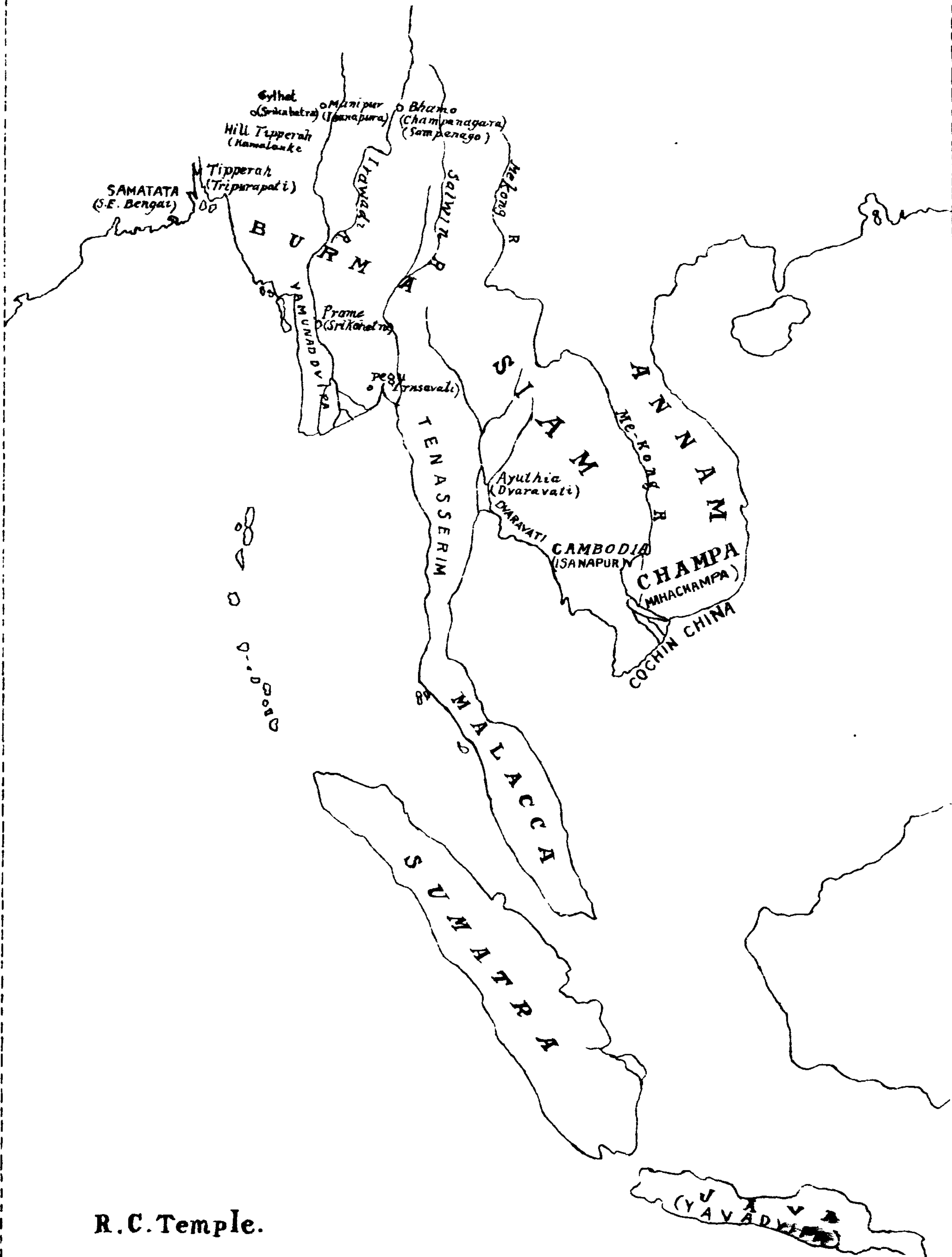
On this understanding I have drawn up a table, showing : firstly, Yuan Chwang's names with Prof. Vidyavinod's names beneath them; secondly, the direction of each place from that preceding it as stated by Yuan Chwang ; thirdly, Prof. Vidyavinod's identifications ; fourthly, former identifications according to Prof. Vidyavinod ; fifthly, M. Finot's identifications. This table taken with the map will show the enquirer exactly the location of each place mentioned by Yuan Chwang on the small scale proposed by Prof. Vidyavinod and on the large scale proposed by M. Finot.

It will also help the enquirer to state the relative direction of the places as stated by Yuan Chwang and the identifiers of his names.

Table of identifications.

Yuan Chwang.	*Direction as stated by Yuan Chwang.*	*Vidyavinod's identification.*	*Former identification.*	*M. Finot's identification.*
1. Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo [S-ri-kshe-t-ra]	N. E. from Samatata [S.E. Bengal]	Srîkshetra Srihatta =Sylhet	Srîkshetra =Sirîkhetara =Tharekhettara =Prome (in Burma)	Srîkshetra =Prome.
2. Ka-mo-lang-ka [Ka-ma-lañ-ka]	S. E. from Shihlich'atalo	Kamalaṇka =Kâmalák =Karmânta =Comilla =Tipperah	Haṅsâvati =Pegu	? Tenasserim [Tanañsari, Taninthari]
3. To-lo-po-ti [Ta-ra-pa-ti]	E. from Kamo-langka	Tarapati =Tripurâpati =Hill Tipperah =also Sthalavati =Thalavati	Dvârâvati =Ayudhyâ (in Siam)	Dvâravati [Lower Siam]

EAST OF SAMATATA



4. I-shang-na-pu-lo [I-sâ-na-pur-a]	E from Tolopoti	Ishṇupur =Iśânapura =Vishṇupur =Maṇipur State	Cambodia	Iśânapura =Cambodia
5. Mo-ha-chan-p'o [Ma-hâ-cham-pâ]	E from Ishang pulo	Champânagara =Sampenago [1] =Bhamo (Bamaw, in Burma)	Cochin-China and Annam	Mahâchampâ =Annam
6. Yen-mo-na chou [chou=dvîpa]	SW from Mohachanp'o	Yamunadvîpa =Jambudvîpa =Jampudvîpa =Lower Burma (S. of Ava)	? Java	Yavadvîpa =? Java

It will also help the enquirer to state the relative direction of the places as stated by Yuan Chwang and the identifiers of his names.

Table of Relative Directions.

Author.		*Place Names.*		*General Direction.*
		I.		
Yuan Chwang	..	Shih-li-ch'a-lo	..	N.E. from Samatata.
Vidyavinod	..	Śrîkshetra=Sylhet	..	N.E. from Samatata.
Older Scholars	..	Śrîkshetra=Prome	..	S.S.E. from Samatata.
Finot	..	Śrîkshetra=Prome	..	S.S.E. from Samatata.
		II.		
Yuan Chwang	..	Ka-mo-lang-ka	..	S.E. from Shihloch'alo.
Vidyavinod	..	Kamalaṅka=Tipperah	..	S. from Sylhet.
Older Scholars	..	Haṅsâvati=Pegu	..	S. from Prome.
Finot	..	Tenasserim	..	S.S.E. from Prome.
		III.		
Yuan Chwang	..	To-lo-po-ti	..	E. from Kamolengka.
Vidyavinod	..	Tarapati=Hill Tipperah	..	N. from Tipperah.
Older Scholars	..	Dvârâvati=Ayudhya	..	S.E. from Pegu.
Finot	..	Dvâravati=Lower Siam	..	S.E. from Pegu.
		IV.		
Yuan Chwang	..	I-shang-na-pu-lo	..	E. from Tolopoti.
Vidyavinod	..	Iśânapura=Maṇipur	..	N.E. from Hill Tipperah.
Older Scholars	..	Cambodia	..	S.E. from Pegu.
Finot	..	Iśânapura=Cambodia	..	S.E. from Pegu.
		V.		
Yuan Chwang	..	Mo-ha-chan-p'o	..	E. from Ishangnapulo.
Vidyavinod	..	Champânagara=Sampenago		E. from Maṇipur.
Older Scholars	..	Cochin-China=Annam	..	E. from Cambodia.
Finot	..	Mahâchampâ=Annam	..	E. from Cambodia.
		VI.		
Yuan Chwang	..	Yen-mo-na-chou	..	S.W. from Mahachanp'o.
Vidyavinod	..	Yamunadvipa=Lower Burma		S. from Sampenago.
Older Scholars	..	Java	..	S.W. from Annam.
Finot	..	Yavadvipa=Java	..	S.W. from Annam.

[1] I would like to say that in Bnrmese the name transcribed by the English as Sampenago is written Cham[or Chan]penago. By Burmese phonetics Skr. *nagara* would be spelt and pronounced *nagô*. So Champânagara fairly equates with Sampenago—R.C.T.

THE MUTINY AT INDORE.

(Some Unpublished Records.)

BY H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

THE following selections from the Indore Records, hitherto unpublished, throw considerable light upon an obscure episode in the Mutiny of 1857, *viz.*, the rising at Indore. They were made by Professor W. Paul, of Robertson College, Jubbulpore, who deserves the thanks of students of Indian History for bringing to light these important papers.

In the hot weather of 1857, there were stationed at Mhow the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry, a wing of the 1st Native Cavalry, and a battery of European Artillery under Captain Hungerford. The Commandant of the Station was Colonel Platt of the 23rd N.I.

Mhow is a Cantonment thirteen miles from Indore. At Indore, the Agent to the Governor-General was Colonel Henry Marion Durand, a distinguished soldier, who, as a subaltern, had taken part in blowing in the gates of Ghazni. The young Mahârâja, aged 21, had been carefully educated under Sir Robert Hamilton, and was thoroughly English in his outlook. At Mhow, an acute difference of opinion had arisen between Colonel Platt, who had implicit confidence in his sepoys, and Captain Hungerford, who wished to evacuate the station and withdraw the women, children and civilians to the Fort. Suddenly, on July 1st, Colonel Platt received a note from Colonel Durand, "Send the European battery as sharp as you can. We are attacked by Holkar." But Hungerford had scarcely set out, when another note arrived, to say that Durand and the other Europeans had left Indore for Sehore. Hungerford returned to Mhow only just in time. Colonel Platt and his brother-officers paid for their confidence with their lives. The sepoys rose and butchered them. Hungerford saved the situation. He dispersed the rebels with grape-shot, and held Mhow until he was relieved. Subsequently a sharp difference of opinion arose between Colonel Durand and Captain Hungerford. History has completely exonerated the latter, and there is no doubt that Colonel Durand acted precipitately in evacuating Indore. The young Mahârâja was entirely loyal to the British Raj, but for some time he was unable to cope with the rising tide of rebellion. But we must allow the papers to speak for themselves.

A.

No. 422.

The Brigade Major, Saugor.

Mhow, Fortified Square, 2nd July 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour to report, for the information of the Brigadier Commanding at Saugor :—

1. That yesterday morning, at 11 o'clock, Colonel Platt, commanding the station, called at my house with a note from Colonel Durand, Acting Resident at Indore, in which Colonel Durand requested that my battery might be sent over to Indore instantly, as he was attacked by Holkar.

2. I accordingly marched from Mhow at about half-past 11. My battery trotted to Rhow, half way to Indore, when a Sowar rode up to me with a note from Colonel Travers, commanding Bhopal Contingent, stating that he was retreating on Simrole, on the road to Mundlaysir. The Sowar stated that Colonel Travers was accompanied by Colonel Durand and by all the Europeans who had been resident at Indore.

3. To reach Simrole there was nothing but a 'cutcha' narrow road, cut up with ruts, along which my battery, in the blown state of the horses, could not have travelled a mile. I therefore determined on returning to Mhow, more especially as from circumstances which have lately occurred here, I had strong suspicions that the native troops would mutiny as soon as Holkar's conduct had become known.

4. On returning to Mhow I met Colonel Platt on entering the station. I gave him the note received from Colonel Travers, explained the reasons for which I had not proceeded to Indore, and requested his permission to enter the fortified square at once. I told him, if he would permit me to enter the Fort, and that I could be secure of two days' non-interference to mount the heavy guns I formerly dismounted, lay in stores, water, etc., that I would guarantee the safety of the Fort against any attacks for a month.

5. Colonel Platt was unfortunately so secure in the fidelity of his own regiment, and of the wing of the 1st Light Cavalry stationed at Mhow, that my request was refused ; and it was only after great entreaty, and pointing out to the commanding officer that the lives of every European in the station were at hazard, that he gave me permission to enter the Fort with my company and guns at half-past 6 p.m. last evening. The whole of the European ladies and families at Mhow took refuge in the Fort at the same time.

6. At 9 p.m. last night it was reported that an agent from Holkar had arrived to communicate with Colonel Platt, and had been stopped by the cavalry picquet stationed on the Indore road. Whether this agent misled the troops or not, I am ignorant.

7. At 10 p.m. several musket-shots were heard in the direction of the cavalry and infantry lines, and shortly afterwards nearly all the officers of the 23rd Regiment and wing Light Cavalry ran into the Fort, and reported that they had run the gauntlet of their respective regiments, having all of them been fired upon, though fortunately none were hit.

8. Almost immediately afterwards Colonel Platt rode into the Fort, and ordered me to turn out my battery. The night was dark, my horses were much knocked up ; but, in about half an hour, the horses were traced to, and we moved out and advanced to the infantry lines. Colonel Platt and his adjutant (Captain Fagan) preceded me about a quarter of an hour ; but from the moment I left the Fort I did not see them. On nearing the infantry lines my battery was fired upon ; and before reaching the cavalry lines, several shots having been fired, I halted and fired several rounds of round shot into the lines of the 23rd Regiment N.I. No person was visible, but much noise was heard, and I think some men must have been killed.

9. By this time several officers' Bungalows were in a blaze ; and as no persons were visible in any direction, and it was too dark for the battery to be in the least serviceable, I returned to the Fort.

10. Unfortunately we learnt afterwards that the mutiny of the troops had been accompanied by great treachery and violence. Colonel Platt and his adjutant, I grieve to report, were shot down by the quarter guard of the 23rd Regiment, and Major Harris was cut down and shot by the men of his own guard. I sent out a detachment to bring in the bodies this morning, which have been recovered, much mutilated.

11. Every precaution is being taken now for the protection of the Fort. I have laid in, and am laying in, stores of all descriptions for men and horses. All my bullocks have been carried off by the bullock drivers, but we have still some bullocks, though not sufficient to move my extra waggons. We are threatened with an attack from Holkar, probably accompanied by the troops which have mutinied ; but I hope to hold the Fort until relieved ; and as the Brigadier Commanding at Saugor may perhaps be able to communicate with Colonel Woodburn, if he will hurry that officer in his advance on Mhow, it may perhaps save us if attacked by an overpowering force. The Fort is very weak; but we shall do our best to hold out until reinforced.

I have etc.,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

B.

To His Highness The Maharaja of Indore.
Mhow, Fortified Square, July 3rd, 1857.

Raja Saheb,

You must be as well aware as myself of the occurrences at Mhow. After the disturbance at Indore, the native troops at Mhow mutinied, cut down their commanding officers, and marched upon Indore yesterday morning.

I understand, from many natives, that you have given food to the mutinous troops. I have heard also, but do not know whether to believe, that you have lent them guns and offered them irregular cavalry as assistance. These reports are probably very much exaggerated; I do not believe them. You owe so much to the British, and can be so utterly ruined by showing enmity towards them, that I do not believe you can be so blind to your own interests as to afford aid and show friendship to the enemies of the British Government. Let me understand therefore from yourself what your wishes are. From your not throwing obstacles in the way of the mutinous troops passing through your territory, and not punishing them, as a Power friendly to the British would do, many may suppose that you are not so much the friend of the British Raj as I believe you to be. Write, therefore, and let me understand your intentions. I am prepared for everything, alone and without assistance; but with the assistance I very shortly expect, I can act in a manner that you will find, I fear, very injurious to your interests; and if you will take my advice, you will write to me at once, and let me know what I am to think of the reports which have reached me.

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

C.

No. 425.

To The Adjutant-General, Bombay Army.
Mhow, 4th July, 1857.

Sir,

I request you will be good enough to communicate to the Adjutant-General, Bengal Army, the following :—

1. I forwarded, on the morning of the 2nd instant, an electric telegraph message to the agent at Ackberpore, requesting that officer to report to the Bombay Government, and to Colonel Woodburn, commanding a field force, our position at Mhow, in the hope that reinforcements would be hurried on for our relief.

2. At 10 p.m., on the 1st current, a mutiny took place at this station of the native troops, consisting of the 23rd Regt. N.I., and wing 1st Light Cavalry. Colonel Platt commanding the station and 23rd Regt., Captain Fagan the adjutant of that regiment, and Major Harris commanding 1st Light Cavalry, were cut down by the mutineers. These officers were blindly confident of the fidelity of their troops, though repeatedly warned that the men are not staunch; and no precautionary measures for the safety of the station, I regret to say, were taken until the very last moment. At half-past 6 p.m., on the 1st current only, could I prevail on the commanding officer to allow me to occupy the Fort of Mhow, the only place where Europeans could take refuge in the event of a rise of the native troops.

3. At 11 a.m., on the morning of the 1st, Colonel Platt had called on me with a letter from Colonel Durand, acting Resident at Indore, begging that the battery under my command might be sent to Indore instantly. I marched my battery, therefore, at once on Indore; but, on getting half way, was met by a Sowar with a note from Colonel Travers, Commanding the Bhopal Contingent, stating that he was retreating on the Mundlaysir road. As it was impossible to know where Colonel Travers might be, and he was accompanied by Colonel Durand and the other British Residents of Indore, I returned to Mhow.

4. On the commencement of the Mutiny, I turned out my battery. Colonel Platt and his adjutant preceded me to the parade ground, and were shot down before our arrival. In arriving in the lines we were fired upon ; but the lines were nearly deserted, and the men had marched *en masse* to Indore.[1]

5. From the blown state of my horses in the morning, and the darkness of the night, which prevented our seeing anything, it was impossible to follow the mutineers ; and as I had no covering party of any description, I returned to the Fort, after having fired several rounds of round shot into the lines.

6. During the last three days we have laid in ample store of provisions for some time, and are prepared to hold this position until relieved. We are threatened by an attack from the Raja of Indore or the mutineers, and are anxious and quite ready to meet them ; but, as sudden retribution should reach the scoundrels who have shown such treachery and ingratitude to their benefactors, I trust that Colonel Woodburn may be ordered to hurry on a portion of his Dragoons, by the aid of whom we can amply avenge ourselves for what has been done.

7. Yesterday and to-day I have turned out a portion of my battery, accompanied by flanking parties of officers, to destroy the villages surrounding Mhow, in which many of the mutineers have taken refuge, and from whence they have turned out to burn and pillage the houses in the cantonments. Several villages have been burnt, much property recovered, and some Sepoys and troopers destroyed.

I have etc.,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE MASOOLAH BOAT IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In Vol. VI, *Proceedings of Meetings*, Indian Historical Records Commission, Madras, January 1924, Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., has a paper on George Chinnery, the Artist, who lived from 1774 to 1852. At p. 46 we learn that to a little slip of a book entitled " Views of Madras, " published in 1807, Chinnery contributed six plates. Of these (p. 48), Plate II is of the Masoolah Boat, " One of the most extraordinary inventions that Navigation has to boast." The description attached to the Plate is quaint and accurate.

"To all appearance any other kind of vessel would be safer on the water. On the contrary no boat of any other kind dare venture over the violent surf, which breaks along the seashore at Fort St. George. It is unique in its construction, equally unlike the solid canoe and the European Invention of caulked vessels. It is flat-bottomed, and the planks of which it is composed are literally sewn together with the fibres of the Kyar (coir) rope (rope made from the cocoa tree) and the stitches (if they may be so called) all so little connected that it should seem there could be no security against its leaking so much as to injure its safety. To prevent any accident of this Nature each Boat is provided with a Baler. These boats are used to convey Goods and Passengers to and from the ships in the Madras roads, and on their return from the ships they are sometimes thrown with so much violence against the shore, that if they did not by their singular construction yield to the shock they would be dashed to pieces. The steersman stands on the stem of the Vessel and the rudder is an oar simply. The dexterity with which he balances himself in the heavy sea is perfectly astonishing. The number of Boats used is 120 and they furnish occupation for upwards of 1,000 natives."

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

NÂSAKETARÎ KATHÂ, AN OLD-RÂJASTHÂNÎ TALE, edited with notes, a grammar, and a glossary by CHARLOTTE KRAUSE ; Verlag der "Asia Major." Leipzig 1925.

Some readers might think that by reviewing this I am carrying coals to Newcastle ; but it is certainly not so. The superiority of the Westerners in the field of Old-Indian philology has been accepted by all, and that because of their scientific method. Their works about the New-Indian philology show this very method and hence their importance for the Indian scholar of his mother-tongue. The Aryan languages of modern India show some peculiar features as compared with their predecessors, various Prâkrits and Sanskrit. The inflectional system was abandoned

[1] It was subsequently ascertained that the men were all in the lines, but fled precipitately as soon as we opened fire upon the huts.

in favour of the agglutinative one; and a vast number of more or less late *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words was introduced in place of pure, regularly developed Prâkrit ones. When, why and how this has happened, remains yet to be solved. Why and how can well be explained, but when is a difficult and no less important problem. This can be done only when we go direct to the original MSS. containing vernacular works instead of their corrected editions by Sanskritised scholars. The popular authors have been more or less modernised, and it is very doubtful whether they can ever be accessible in their original form. But there exists a large mass of unknown and little known works in MSS. to be found especially in Jain-Libraries only they should be *faithfully* edited with complete apparatus for their study. The book under review will really serve as a model how this work should be executed.

It contains the text with its grammatical sketch and its glossary, with notes and an introduction. The last deals with the MS., the language of the text, the parallel text partly published by Tessitori, and its subject-matter. The text was found along with others in a MS. copied by a Jain monk Śivavarddhana in Jaitâraṇa (not identified) in 1729 A.D. The authoress had no access to this MS., but only to its copy taken by Prof. Hertel. The wording of the copyist is said to be good and complete and free from blunders.—There are some glosses which Dr. (Miss) Krause attributes to the source of Śivavarddhana, thus taking the archtype much further.

The discussion on the language of the text is very useful. It deals with its accidence, syntax, phonology and vocabulary. The authoress shows how the grammar offers us a mixture of various Râjasthânî dialects, but as Mârwâṛî forms preponderate, she seeks the home of the text in Mârwâṛ, and finds Jaisalmer as such. The language of the *Nâsaketarî Kathâ* bears much resemblance to Mârwâṛî, but I do not see anything of the sort with its Thaḷî dialect. The authoress has not supported her statement by any substantial facts; and I find that all the Thaḷî peculiarities mentioned by Grierson (*Linguistic Survey of India*, IX, II, 109 ff.) are conspicuous in this text by their absence. Whenever the Mârwâṛî grammar does not agree with that of our text, the Jaipurî and Mâlvî ones do, to mention the Râjasthânî dialects, or the Gujarâtî, one does, to mention the language to which all Râjasthânî dialects belong in a way. In any case the text shows distinct phases of an earlier stage of linguistic development, as shown by the authoress. She offers some remarks on the language of the Sanskrit passages occurring in the text. But really speaking only the introductory verses come in question, and these are not in Sanskrit but in the vernacular.

The third section deals with a similar text partly edited by the late Dr. Tessitori. A great part of the first Adhyâya from both versions has been printed in parallel columns, which enables us to see with the authoress that the other version is younger, but Ido not find it always inferior as she does both in form and contents. Besides, I see there some dialectical differences also.

As for the subject-matter, the authoress is of opinion that it is a very short and rather bad abstract of the *Nâsiketôpâkhyâna* published by Belloni Filippi, adding that in some cases the *Varâha-Purâṇa* is its source. The text begins with an episode about the birth of the hero, which accounts for the name, *Nâsiketa* (born through the nose), and then follows the chief story. The plot is not without interest. The hero goes to the world of the dead to fulfil the curse uttered by his father in anger. The god of death would not take him into his power, as the boy's time is not yet ripe. The latter observes the conditions in various heavens and hells and returns to the world of the living. The description of good and bad deeds and of their corresponding rewards and punishments gives us some idea of everyday life and its ideals among the then Indians. The public and private recitation of the story is considered meritorious; and it has a moral purpose like its Iranian parallel, *Ardây Vîrâz Nâmay*. I cannot omit to mention a curious coincidence that the latter, too, has its Old-Gujarâtî version (vide *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, Part V, *Ardâ Gvîrâ*, where it has been taken from a MS. written in 1415 A.D.).

The text is printed in Nâgarî script, and is punctuated in European fashion, the original punctuation also being retained. Mistakes like omissions, repetitions, etc., have been carefully noted. Thus we are given a fair idea of the original state of the text. There are some cases—and they are very few, where I would read the text differently. I propose to deal elsewhere with this and other points and also with some mistakes in the translation of the text which has been so faithfully prepared by the same authoress in *Asia Major*, vol. I. The notes contain very useful material, linguistic and otherwise, with discussions on parallel passages from Belloni Filippi, Tessitori and others. They will be found of much help for understanding obscure passages. A systematic grammatical sketch follows, to which is added a section under the heading Syntactical Remarks. A glossary with references to the text ends the volume.

The get-up of the work is excellent—though a couple of misprints are there. Let us hope that Dr. (Miss) Krause's example be followed by those Indians who love their mother-tongue and who are in a better position to prepare monographs of this kind.

J. C. TAVADIA.

FORMATION OF A LIBRARY OF MANUSCRIPTS AT DACCA UNIVERSITY.

BY N. K. BHATTASALI, M.A.

IN the *Modern Review* for December 1925, the Editor announces (p. 738) the discovery by Prof. V. S. Sukthankar of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, of a manuscript of the Adi Parva (1st Canto) of the *Mahâbhârata*, dated in v.s. 1575 or A.D. 1519. Persons interested in Oriental Research know that this Research Institute is trying to bring out a reliable edition of the great Sanskrit Epic, *Mahâbhârata*, by collating all important manuscripts of the epic from different parts of India and the world. The discovery of an early dated MSS. of an important Parva like the Âdi Parva must be very important for the projected edition and will undoubtedly delight all lovers of Oriental Research.

The Dacca University, since its inception, has been trying to form a good Library of Sanskrit and Bengali manuscripts, and set apart Rs. 5,000 for the purpose in the very first year of its existence. The scheme, however, materialised only last year, when a strong committee for the collection of manuscripts was formed. The committee advertised widely, asking for offers of manuscripts, either for purchase or as presents, and their appeal has met with a wonderful response. Manuscripts poured in with such rapidity that more than 3,000 of them were collected, practically within the short period of one year. Indeed, the pressure on this honorary organisation has become so great that the authorities of the Dacca University are seriously considering the desirability of relieving the manuscript committee by employing very shortly a paid curator of manuscripts.

Not only have the Manuscript Committee of the Dacca University succeeded in securing valuable donations of manuscripts, sometimes amounting in number to more than 500 (the most notable donor being Babu Kṛshṇadâs Āchâryya Choudhuri, Zemindar of Muktagachha, who presented the committee with 573 manuscripts), but the actual purchases contain books in Bengali and Sanskrit on all conceivable subjects. Manuscripts of all the Parva of the *Mahâbhârata* have been collected in duplicate, triplicate or more copies, and the Bhandarkar Institute will be glad to learn that Dacca University now possesses a complete manuscript of the *Harivaṃśa*, dated in 1426 *Saka, i.e.*, 1503 A.D.; a manuscript of the Araṇya Parva of 1393 *Saka, i.e.*, 1471 A.D.; a manuscript of the Śânti Parva of 1442 *Saka i.e.*, 1520 A.D. That such early manuscripts of the *Mahâbhârata* could be found in a damp country like Bengal, came indeed as a great surprise to the committee in the first days of its activities. As regards the manuscripts of the *Râmâyaṇa*, the committee have succeeded in collecting duplicate and triplicate copies of all the *Kaṇḍas*, but the earliest of them does not date back beyond about 250 years. Manuscripts of the majority of the *Purâṇas* have been collected, in some cases in more than one copy; and the gem of the lot is a complete manuscript of the *Viṣṇu-Purâṇa*, dated in 1388 *Saka* (1466 A.D.), or twenty years previous to the birth of Chaitanya. A manuscript of the *Padma-Purâṇa*, dated in 1311 *Saka*, in the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Bengal, would have been a more valuable addition, but for its fragmentary character. The committee was practically overwhelmed by the number of MSS. on *Navya Nyâya* that appeared, a few of them in palm leaf and dated in *La Sam*, and has stopped accepting any more of them, unless they be very old and well-preserved. Numerous MSS. of different *Tantras* have appeared, the most remarkable being a MSS. of *Saradatilaka*, dated in 1427 *Saka* or 1505 A.D. and a second MSS. of the same book, even older. A splendid manuscript of the *Saktisaṅgama Tantra*, complete in 334 folia, is also one of the notable collections of this line. MSS. of the other minor and major *Tantras* collected, some of them hitherto unknown, are too numerous to be mentioned.

The Committee made a special effort to collect genealogical works, and they have succeeded in collecting a number of MSS. of the works of Dhruvânanda and Mahesha, and some other genealogical works of the Vârendra and the Raḍhî Brahmans. A most remarkable book in this line is a genealogical *Kâvya*, dealing with the family history of the Rai Choudhuris of

Khalia in the District of Faridpur, giving a history of the notable members of this family during Mughal and Pre-Mughal times. It is needless to add that numerous other manuscripts on *Smṛti* (law), *Jyôtisha* (astrology), medicine, drama, poetics and poetry have also been found. A notable recent addition is a copy of *Ṭīkāsarvasva*, the famous commentary on Amarakosha by Sarvvananda, son of Artrihara of the Bāndyaghaṭiya family (Banerji) of Bengal. It was published some years ago in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, but strange to say, no copy has before this been found from Bengal, its place of origin. The present Bengal recension will be a valuable corrective to the Trivandrum Edition.

The collection at present is comparatively poor in Bengali MSS., but in this line also remarkable successes have been achieved. Ten or more poets of the Manasâ-maṅgala school are represented in the collection, and of the works of Narâyaṇ Dev, Dvija Vamśîdas, Vijay Gupta, Vaidya Jagannâth, the collection includes in some cases more than fifteen copies of each work. Babu Satish Chandra Roy, the distinguished writer and authority on Vaishnava Literature, recently announced in the columns of the *Journal* of the *Vaṅgiya Sahitya Parishat* the discovery of a new work, namely, *Harivaṁśa* by Dvija Bhavânanda. The Dacca University collection contains three MSS. of this work. The lyrical pieces of the Vaishnava poets are well-represented in the Dacca University collection, and this line has been further strengthened by the donation by Babu Satish Chandra Roy of his life's collection of the Vaishnava lyrics. The gem of the Bengali collection, it will delight the hearts of all true Vaishnavas to know, is the manuscript of the translation of the *Bhâgavata* (12th *Skanda*) by the great Vaishnava apostle Sanâtana, at one time the minister to the famous Pathan Sultan Hussain Shah of Bengal (1493–1519 A.D.). The book, as recorded in one of its chapters, was completed in 1564 A.D. and must have been the work of Sanâtana in his mature old age, though he outlived his work by many more years. The manuscript itself is about 200 years old. It is written in a delightfully lucid style and will gladden the heart of even an unenthusiastic reader. Unfortunately, the remaining *Skandas* have yet to be discovered.

The Manuscript Committee is still busily engaged in the work of collection, and its agents are roaming from village to village in search of manuscripts. The irony of the situation is that the members have to work hard at the sacrifice of their scanty leisure hours, in an honorary capacity, in an atmosphere of cold neglect, if not of active opposition ; and there are not wanting even Hindu members of the Dacca University Court, who can seriously table a resolution to cut down the Library grant and consign the manuscripts already collected to the flames.

THE MUTINY AT INDORE.

(*Some Unpublished Records.*)

BY H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

(*Continued from page* 119.)

C–2.

To Captain Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

My dear Sir,

I have just received your letter No. 424, dated 3rd instant. The accounts you seem to have received of my assistance to the enemies of the British Government are, as you supposed, not only exaggerated but entirely false. No one in the world regrets more than I do the most heart-rending catastrophe which befell at Indore and at Mhow. My troops, probably under the influence of the Mhow mutineers, mutinied openly on the morning of the 1st instant; and the very companies and guns that were sent to protect the Residency picked up a general quarrel with some one, and began at once to fire upon the Residency house. The mischief done was great ; many lives were lost No companies of the Contingent, etc., assisted the British officers; but it is cheering to hear that Colonel Durand, Mr. Shakespear and family, and others, went away quite safe. The rascals then plundered the whole Residency.

The next morning the Mhow troops, after committing similar brutalities, arrived here; the whole town was in a panic. A greater part of my troops were in open mutiny, and what remained could not be trusted. The Muhammadans raised a standard of "Deen," and the disorder was complete. Under these sad circumstances the mutineers exacted their own terms. They not only demanded the heads of a few Europeans, whom I had concealed in my own palace, but also of a few officers of the court who were supposed to be in the British interest. They prepared to plunder and destroy all, if I myself did not come out. I had no alternative left but to offer them my own person, but I would not allow the poor Europeans to be touched before being killed myself. After plundering the British treasury and the carriage from the town, and taking with them all the guns which had gone over to them in a state of mutiny, all the mutineers of this place and Mhow have marched off last night in a body towards Dewass.

The tale is a painful one, and will be described to you in detail by Rao Ramchunder and Bukshee Khooman Sing, who are bearers of this to you. I have not, even in a dream, ever deviated from the path of friendship and allegiance to the British Government. I know their sense of justice and honour will make them pause before they suspect, even for a moment, a friendly chief, who is so sensible of the obligations he owes to them, and is ready to do anything for them. But there are catastrophes in this world which cannot be controlled, and the one that has happened is one of the kind.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Tookajee Rao Holkar.

D.

Indore, 7th July 1857, 11 p.m.

My dear Sir,

His Highness the Maharaja has learnt with great regret the astounding account of Captain and Mrs. Hutchinson and party's detention at Amjheera. He looks upon Mrs. Hutchinson as his sister, and the whole family as his own relations; and though not crediting that the Raja of Amjheera could be so blind to his own interests, he has, however, lost no time in ordering Bukshee Khooman Sing, with three Companies of Infantry, two guns, and 200 sowars, towards Amjheera with orders to blow up the town, and bring in the Raja dead or alive, should he have proceeded to any extremities with the party. Amjheera, it must be recollected, is not a tributary to Holkar, but to Scindia; but in this emergency His Highness thinks hesitation as to its being a foreign State inadmissible.

His Highness has, however, been informed by the Amjheera Vakeel, on the strength of a letter dated Amjheera the 5th instant, that Mrs. and Captain Hutchinson and party have safely reached Jhabooa, and are quite well there. He has therefore started a runner to Jhabooa, to ascertain the truth of the thing; and as the column detached under Bukshee Khooman Sing shall be at Beitwa tomorrow, His Highness wishes to know whether at this crisis it will be any responsibility for Holkar's army to enter a foreign State and to proceed to extremities, should the emergency require it.

His Highness is overjoyed to hear of the safety of Colonel Durand and party at Sehore, and shall be obliged by your writing to him his best compliments. Pray let me know soon your opinion on the Amjheera subject, and oblige me.

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Ramchandra Rao,

By His Highness' order.

To Rao Ramchunder Rao Saheb, Indore—Mhow, 8th July 1857.

Dear Sir,

Your letter just received, dated the 7th instant, and written by order of His Highness the Maharaja, has given me much pleasure; and I hasten, through you, to thank the Maharaja for the promptitude he has displayed in taking upon himself, if necessary, the deliverance of

British subjects from enemies, and the punishment of such offenders. Such a proof of friendship is most gratifying, and will be the best proof to evil-disposed persons that the good-will and friendship that exist between the two governments will remain unchangeable for ever.

I am desired by Captain Hungerford to express his entire concurrence with the view taken by His Highness of this matter, with whom he thinks that in such an emergency as the present, no hesitation as to the offending state being a foreign state is admissible ; but Captain Hungerford is further of opinion that, having marched to the borders of such offending state, an enquiry as to the truth of the report should be made, and, if true, followed by a formal demand for the kidnapped prisoners previous to entering the same ; and if not complied with, you might then proceed to extremities, with the assurance from Captain Hungerford that the British Government will not fail to support you and accept the responsibility, should it be found necessary to compel the Amjheera Raja to restore these officers, ladies, and children to liberty; and I also fully concur in this opinion.

I trust the assurances of the Amjheera Vakeel are correct, and that Captain Hutchinson and party have safely reached Jhabooa, and this intelligence may be confirmed by the return of the runner you have despatched to make inquiry ; but you will allow that the testimony offered us, as to the act of violence having been committed by people from Amjheera, was deserving of a certain amount of credit.

If Moonshee Dhurm Narain could be spared to come here, he would be of great assistance in facilitating correspondence between us, as he could afford Captain Hungerford and myself much information as to the proper forms to be observed, and we should find his knowledge of official matters of much assistance to us.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) A. Elliot,
Asst. Govt. Superintendent in Malwah.

E.

To The Maharaja of Indore—Mhow, July 7th, 1857.

Maharaja,

A Sahookar has just brought me intelligence that your troops which misbehaved have returned to Indore ; that they are much enraged with the mutineers from Mhow, and have either gone or are going on the road to Dewass ; for the purpose of attacking them and recovering the treasure which has been carried off from Indore.

I understand also that you have made arrangements with the Raja of Dewass and others, to intercept and attack our mutinous troops simultaneously, and that it is your wish to destroy them, and that for this purpose you have assisted your troops with guns.

I trust that the above reports are correct. Your friendly feelings towards our Government cannot be better shown than by your punishing with the utmost severity the men who have been faithless to their salt. By acting in this manner it will be proved to the Government that the events at Indore have occurred contrary to your wishes ; and by your taking the earliest opportunity of using your troops in a manner which will be beneficial to the interests of the British Government, you will prove that their former actions were not influenced by yourself.

Allow me to know whether the above reports are correct, as it will give me the greatest pleasure to report to Government how faithfully you wish to execute the duties that your friendship towards them lays upon you.

I shall feel obliged by your allowing Gunesh Shastree to come over and stay at Mhow for a short time, as there are many matters I wish to consult you upon, and he will be a better medium of communicating with your Highness than any other.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

To Captain Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

Sir,

I am commanded by His Highness the Maharaja Sahib to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and to inform you, in reply, that a few of those troops who were supposed to have mixed up with the mutineers have returned, and measures will at a proper time be taken to ascertain the extent of their guilt.

His Highness had ordered an attack to be made on the Mhow and Indore mutineers, as soon as the safety of the town was secured by their march from before it. The Komisdar of Teerana has now, according to orders, assembled about 1100 men, together with two guns, and was to attack them at or near Rajwas ; an attacking column has also been in pursuit of a few stragglers towards Jamere ; a third column, to the strength of 350 horse, was sent on yesterday ; and a fourth column, of two guns of horse artillery, 100 sepoys, and 50 horse, has been despatched from Indore yesterday. Letters have also been addressed to Scindia's authorities at Shahjeanpore and Oojein, as well as to the Rajas of Dewass and Nursingur, to send succour, copies of which are enclosed for your information ; and the result of these operations shall soon be made known.

Circular orders are also issued, offering a reward of Rs. 5,000 for any one bringing Saadut Khan the ring-leader's head, Rs. 500 for that of Bunsgopal, and Rs. 500 for that of Mahomed Ali, and smaller rewards of Rs. 150 for the head of each officer and man amongst them respectively.

Gunesh Ramchunder, an intelligent man, has been directed to wait on you as Vakeel at Mhow ; and though Gunesh Shastree, having so much to do on his hands at this place, cannot be spared for a constant attendant at Mhow, he has, however, been directed to be going to and fro, and will wait on you every second day, or as occasion may require.

No means shall be spared on the Durbar's part to prove its usual sincerity and loyalty to the British Government ; and His Highness rests assured they will find in him as staunch a friend as he hopes he has always proved to be.

Yours etc.,

July 8th, 1857. (Signed) Ramchunder Rao.

Letter 428—Mhow, July 8th, 1857.

Sir,

Not having heard anything from Colonel Durand, and having received no authentic intelligence of his whereabouts, I beg to continue my report to the Bombay Government, as the nearest authorities, and beg that a copy of my letter may be forwarded to the Supreme Government.

1. My last letter forwarded was dated the 5th, and contained copies of letter to the Maharaja and his reply. I omitted to state therein that I had blown up the magazines in the cavalry and infantry lines which were full of ammunition, and which, being distant upwards of one mile from the Fort, I feared might fall into the hands of enemies.

2. On the 3rd July I proclaimed martial law throughout Mhow ; and having suggested the advisability of such a step to the Maharaja of Indore, he has done the same throughout his territory.

3. By the evening of the 3rd a heavy battery was mounted and in position in front of the north gate of the Fort. The north battery consists of one 10-inch howitzer, one 8-inch, one 24 pounder, one 18 pounder, and two 12 pounders. The south battery, of four 18 pounders, was armed on the morning of the 5th. Ammunition for all these pieces, to the extent of twenty rounds per gun, has been made up by the Deputy Commissary of Ordnance ; supplies of all descriptions are laid in for one month ; two light guns are also mounted on each of the four corner bastions of the Fort, and small arms placed in the bastions, and every preparation made to resist any attack that might be made upon us.

4. On the night of the 4th the mutineers from Mhow, accompanied by some troops of the Maharaja, marched from Indore towards Dewass, having carried off nine lacs of treasure from the Indore treasury. The two parties quarrelled with each other, and Holkar's troops returned to Indore on the 6th current. No portion of the treasure had been made over to them, I believe; and they were so enraged that they requested permission to follow up the Mhow mutineers and recover the treasure from them.

5. Thinking that an attack on the mutineers by the Raja's troops would be advantageous in every way, I wrote the accompanying letter to the Maharaja (marked E, *ante*), and forward his reply.

6. The accompanying letters were received yesterday from the Bhao Ramchunder Rao and Captain Fenwick, an individual in the service of the Raja.

7. Yesterday evening also the remainder of the treasure from Indore was sent here by the Raja, consisting of four or five lacs of rupees in cash and twenty-four lacs in Government notes, which I have ordered Captain Elliot, Assistant Thuggee Superintendent, now in the Mhow Fort, to take charge of.

8. A Naik of my lascar company was brought in prisoner yesterday morning who had deserted and joined the mutineers; and, having been tried by court-martial and condemned to death, was hanged in front of the Fort yesterday by my orders.

9. The country around Mhow appears to be in a settled state and I am doing what I can to keep communication open both by Dak and electric telegraph. The electric telegraph wire has been cut near Indore, but a signaller is now bringing in the wires to this Fort; and as instruments will be here in the course of to-morrow, I hope soon to be able to communicate more rapidly any intelligence it may be necessary to send, than by letter Dak.

I have etc.,

To the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

F.

From Lord Elphinstone to Captain Hungerford,
Telegraph Message, July 8th, 1857.

I have received your message of the 2nd. Captain Orr, with 3rd Nizam's Cavalry, is on his way to Mundlaysir, and will endeavour to communicate with you and assist you. I hope you will be able to send away in safety the ladies, women, and children under his escort. Unforeseen difficulties have prevented the advance of General Woodburn's forces. A second column is now being despatched for your relief, comprising European infantry and cavalry, and a half troop horse artillery. It will be pushed on as fast as possible; but it will be at least three weeks before it can reach you, as the infantry are going from Bombay. If you can hold out at Mhow for a month, I think you should remain until relieved; but if you are unable to do this, you must fall back on Mundlaysir, covered by Orr's horse and any of the Bhopal Sikhs or Bheels who may be at hand. Send the names of the ladies and officers at Mundlaysir, and inform me what they intend doing.

G.

To Lord Elphinstone, from Captain Hungerford—Telegraph Message, July 9th.

I request that your Lordship will not send any native troops for our relief. We will hold our own as long as we can. Hurry the European troops; cavalry, if possible. Holkar has shown by his actions that he is friendly to our Government; but he has been forced against his own inclinations to give way in some degree to his own mutinous troops and mutineers from Mhow. The whole of the mutineers have marched from Indore towards Delhi; but Holkar's troops are still doubtful, and we are threatened with an attack by the Mehidpore Contingent. The whole country is in such a state of excitement that I think any native

troops will certainly be turned from their fidelity to Government; whereas the arrival of a European force at Mhow would tend immediately to establish tranquillity throughout Malwah, and would prove to Holkar that the Government are ready to assist him in his endeavours to quiet the country. A column to assist us should be sent to Mhow as quickly as possible, as it will tend more to tranquillize the country than anything else. I have no body here but my own company of artillery, and the officers who escaped from the 23rd Regiment N. I. and wing 1st Light Cavalry, and have been obliged to assume political authority to communicate with the Maharaja of Indore.

The Europeans, Captain and Mrs. Keatinge, Mr. Theobald, Mr. and Mrs. Naher and children, and a surgeon, have quitted Mundlaysir, in consequence of a dispute amongst some native officers, and have taken refuge in a small fort at Parnasa in Nimaur. Captain Keatinge talks of returning to Mundlaysir when things are quiet.

Pray telegraph strength of the column approaching, that supplies may be got ready on their line of march; also the route they will come by.

From Captain Hungerford, to Lord Elphinstone—Telegraph Message, July 9th.

The advance of Captain Orr's column has been reported, but it has not yet reached the Nerbudda. I have written to Captain Orr to carry out his orders concerning Mundlaysir, but not to advance to Mhow.

Malwah is in such an excited state, that no native troops can come here without injury. Holkar's troops have already joined in one mutiny, and have only just returned to a very slight degree of subordination; the arrival of fresh native troops would probably lead to renewed intrigue, and might cause incalculable mischief.

I beg therefore your Lordship to allow only European troops to advance on Mhow. We are safe; and a few European troops would tranquillize the whole country.

Letter No. 431.
Mhow, July 10th, 1857.

Sir,

I beg to continue my report:—

1. I regret to say that both Captain Elliot and myself have written to Colonel Durand without reply; and that, although officers' servants and others have come in from Sehore with letters, no communication has been received from Colonel Durand, whom we believe to be at that place. We have heard that the Bhopal Contingent at Sehore is in a state of mutiny, but do not know whether the news is true.

2. It having been reported that Captain Hutchinson, assistant to Agent, with his wife, had been made prisoners by the Amjheera Raja, and carried to Amjheera, accompanying correspondence (marked D, *ante*) took place, and His Highness has despatched a force to Amjheera to act as circumstances may render necessary. The result shall be communicated to you as soon as known.

3. The officers of the Malwah Contingent, stationed at Mehidpore some time back, on an outbreak occurring at that station (wherein the cavalry murdered their officers), left Mehidpore, and took refuge at Jowra. The artillery and infantry were not led away by the example offered by the cavalry, but continued loyal. The commandant of the Contingent and some other officers were ordered back to Mehidpore; but, during the late disturbances at Indore, they again left their regiment, and at the present moment it is reported to me that the Contingent is without officers. The accompanying correspondence (marked 432 and 434, with letter from Durbar, dated 8th July) passed on the subject.

4. On the first outbreak at Indore, Colonel Durand's note to Colonel Platt stated that he was attacked by Holkar, and the general impression was that the mutiny of the Indore troops was at the instigation of the Maharaja. Since the departure of the mutineers from Indore, the actions of the Raja (which the correspondence forwarded will make known) have

been marked by the most earnest desire to assist to the utmost of his means in the tranquillisation of his country. Some of His Highness' troops (Mahomedans) are still in an excited and insubordinate state, and he is anxiously looking forward to the arrival of Europeans at Mhow, as the support it would afford him would enable him at once to disarm the disaffected and give him the control of his army.

5. Yesterday evening the Maharaja sent in two prisoners (Mahomedans), Sepoys of the 23rd Regiment N. I., who were tried by drum-head court-martial, sentenced to death, and hanged at once. The Bhao Rao Ramchunder, who paid me a visit last evening, reported that the giving up of these prisoners had caused great excitement amongst the Maharaja's troops, and that he had only been enabled to leave Indore under the protection of a strong guard.

6. The advance of Captain Orr's detachment was reported to me this morning, and I have written to that officer. I trust the circumstances will be considered sufficiently urgent to authorise my having written as I have done.

7. I have reported all that has occurred to yourself, and trust that what I have done will meet with support from the Government under which I serve. I am placed in a difficult position. The political authorities are all absent. Besides maintaining this post, now almost the only one left in Central India, I have been compelled to take upon myself some political authority to enable me to correspond with the Maharaja of Indore, and, through him, to prevent disorder from spreading throughout his territory. Should the Mehidpore troops march on Delhi, it will only add to the difficulties of our troops ; and, therefore, if, with the Raja's assistance, the Malwah Contingent can be kept subordinate and faithful, I trust the Government will feel satisfied with the duty performed, though done in an informal manner. I feel assured that the Raja's feelings are loyal and staunch to the British Government, and that a sense of his own interests even, if gratitude were out of the question, would keep him faithful to his duties as their ally. I have received assistance from him, and am convinced that a small European force here would restore tranquillity to the whole country ; if it were quickly sent, Malwah would be saved from any further disorder. I have, etc.,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,

The Secretary to Government, Bombay. Commanding at Mhow.

To Captain Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow—Indore, 8th July 1857.

Sir,

The circumstances of Major Timmin's departure from Mehidpore have already been reported to you. The whole of the infantry and the remaining cavalry with guns form a complete brigade, and is provided with ammunition. They told the Koomawisdar at Mehidpore that they had not mutinied, and that, after the misconduct of the Sowars under Captains Brodie and Hunt, the loyalty of the infantry had been praised by Colonel Durand, and an increase of pay and rank offered ; also, that they had not misbehaved even now ; and, as they were paid by the Durbar through the British authorities, they must now continue to draw their pay, without which they cannot remain. Should it be the intention of the Durbar to dismiss them, they must receive a decisive answer. Koomawisdar, having no force to coerce such a large body of disciplined troops, and fearing they would plunder Mehidpur and march on to Indore, which would play the mischief under the present state of things, addressed them a consolatory 'Purwannah' in the Durbar's name, which has stopped them there for the present. He has, in the meanwhile, requested instructions from the Durbar, and is afraid of great disorders, should a delay take place in the receipt of orders calculated to give them some confidence. His Highness has therefore directed me to ask your advice, as to what should be done in this emergent case keeping up, and the sooner you give it the better, for the sake of order.

I remain, etc.,

(To be continued.) (Signed.) Ramchunder Rao, Minister.

MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

FROM THE COLLECTION MADE BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

(*Continued from page* 107.)

IV.

Nahachhu Songs.

These songs are sung at the ceremony of paring the nails of the bridegroom (*mundan*).

1. Nahachhu Song sung at the Nail-paring Ceremony.

This song comes from a village in the Mainpuri District, as recorded by a teacher in the School.

Text.

Harî dariâî ko jâjim jhârî bichhâîye.
Baithe kuṅwar to châr, to nahanchhû hot haiṅ.
Ghar ghar phiratî, nauniyâ, nagar jagâîye :
" Ajû Râmjî ko nahanchhû sab ghar jâîye."
Kâhû dîno hâth mundariyâ, abharan, ratan jaṛâîye.
Kekaî ne diyo hâth ko kangan : Kaushalyâ diyo pahirâwo : bahut aknog diyo.
Khush hoke ghar jâîye.

Translation.

Spread a green carpet : shake off the dust :
The four young princes[46] have sat down and the nail-paring begins.
Go, barber's wife, round all the houses in the city :
" To day is Râm's nail-paring : come, every house."
So gave her finger-rings studded with ornaments and gems.
Kekaî gave a bracelet and Kaushalya an ornament, and many priceless gems.
Go happy to your homes.

2. Nahachhu Song attributed to Tulasi Das, and recorded by Râmgharîb Chaube.

This is a popular version of a Nahachhu Song attributed to the great seventeenth century poet and reformer, Tulasî Dâs, which he is said to have composed for the women of the Bhadainî Maballa of Benares. It is very popular in Northern India and has been printed frequently by vernacular presses. It is in very fine spirited verse, and its popularity is probably due to the fact that it can be used as a *memoria technica* of the whole ceremony.

Text.

Adi sârdâ Ganpati Gaur manâiya ho.
Râm lalâ kar nahachhu gây sunâiya ho.

1.

Jehi gâin sidhî hoyâ ; param pad pâiya ho.
Koṭi janam ko pâtak durî so jâiya ho.
Koṭin bâjan bâjain Dasrath ke gṛiha ho.
Deo lok sab dekhahiṅ ânad ati hîya ho.
Nagar sohâwan lâgat barani na jâtâi ho.
Kausalyâ ke harkh na hṛiday samâtai ho.
Alehi bâṅs ke mândo manigan puran ho.
Motiṅh jkâlar lâgi chahun disî jhulan ho.

[46] The allusion throughout is to Râma's wedding with Sîtâ, and the ladies mentioned, Kekaî and Kaushalyâ, belong to the legend.

2.

Gaṅgâ jal kar kalas tâṅ turat mangâiya ho.
Yubtinha mangal gâi Râm anhwâiya ho.
Gaj muktâ hîrâ mani chauk purâiya ho.
Dei swaragh, Râm kahuṅ lei baithâiya ho.
Kanak khambh chahun or madhya sinhâsan ho.
Mânik dîp barây, baithî tehi âsan ho.
Banî banî âwat nârî, jânî gṛihmâyan ho.
Bihasatî âu lohâriṇi hâth barâyan ho.

3.

Ahîriṇî hath daheṛî sagun lei âwahi ho :
Unrat joban dekhî nṛipati man bhâwai ho.
Rûp salonî tanboliṇî bîrâ hâthehi ho :
Jâki or bilokahi man tehi sâthehi ho.
Darjiṇî gore gât lihe kar jorâ ho :
Kesani parun lagâi sugandhan borâ ho.
Mochiṇî badan sakochiṇi hîrâ mâṅgan ho :
Panahîṅ lihê kar sobhit sun dar âṅgan ho.

4.

Batiyâ kai sughar maliṇiyâ sundar gâtahi ho :
Kanak ratan mani maur lihe musukâtahi ho.
Kati kai chhîn bariṇiyân chhatâ pânihi ho :
Chandra badan, mṛig lochiṇî, sab ras khanihi ho.
Nain bisâl nauniyâ bhaunh chamkawai ho :
Deî gârî Rânîwâsahiṅ pramudit gawai ho.
Kausalyâ ki jethi dinh anusâsan ho :
" Nahachhu jâi karâwahu baithî singhâsan ho."

5.

God lihe Kausalyâ baithî Râmahin bar ho :
Sobhit dulah Rân sîs par ânchar ho.
Nauṇî to ati gun khâni begi bulâi ho.
Kari sinjâr ati lonî tan bihansati âî ho.
Kanak chunin so larit nahariṇi liye kar ho.
Anand hiye na samây dekhi Râmahin bar ho.
Kânê kanak taruanâ besarî sohâhi ho.
Gaj muktâ kar hâr kanth mani sohâhi ho.

6.

Kar kankan kati kinkin, nâpur bâjahin ho.
Rânî kai dîṅhîṅ sâṛî tan adhik birâjahi ho.
Kâhê : " Râm jiu sânwar, Lachhiman gor ho ?
Ki dhahun Rânî Kausalyahîṅ parigâ bhor ho.
Râm ahahin Dasrath kai, Lachhiman ânaka ho.
Bharat Satruhan bhâî to Srî Raghunâth kâ ho."
Aju Awadhpur ânand nahachhu Râm kâ, ho.
Chalahu nayan bharî dekhiya sobhâ dhâm kâ ho.

7.

Ati baṛ bhâg nauṇiyâṅ chhuai nakh hath son ho :
Nainânh karatî, gumân, tau Srî Râghunâth son ho.
Jo pagu nâuṇî dhowai Râm dhowâwahin ho,
So pagu dhurî siddhî munî darsan pawâhin hoṅ.

Atisai puhapuk mâl Râm ur sohanhiṅ ho,
Tirachhi chitwani ânand munimukh johanhi ho.
Nakh kâtat musukâhin barani nahin jâtahi ho,
Padam-râg mani mânuhun komal gâtahi ho.

8.

Jâwak rachit angûrianha mṛidal suthârî ho,
Prabhu kar charan prachhâli tau ati sukumârî ho.
Bhâî newachhâwar bahu bidhî jo jaou lâyak ho.
Tulasi Dâs bali jâun dekhi Raghunâyak ho.
Râjâṅ dînhaṅ hâthî : Rânîṅ hâr ho :
Bharige ratan padârath sup hazâr ho.
Bharî gârî newachhâwarî nâu lei âwai ho,
Parijan karahîṅ nihâl asîsat âwai ho.

9.

Tâpar karahîṅ sumauj bahut dukh khoâhîṅ ho.
Hrî sukhî sab log adhik sukh soâhîu ho.
Gâwahîṅ sab, raniwâs dehîṅ prabhu gârî ho.
Râm lalâ sakuchâhin dekhî mahtârî ho.
Hilî milî karat sawâṅginî sabhā ras kelî ho.
Nauṅî man harkhâî sugandhan melî ho.
Dulah kai mahtari dekhi man harkhâi ho,
Koṭinha dinhaṅdân megh jâna barkhâi ho.

10.

Râm lalâ kar nahachhu ati sukh gâiya ho.
Jehi gâeṅ sidhî hoya param nidhî pâiya ho.
Dasarath Râu siṅhâsan baithi birâjahin ho.
Tulasî Dâs bali jâya dekhi Raghu râjahin ho.
Je yah nahachhu gâwahin gâi sunâwahin ho.
Rishî sidhi aru kalyân mukti nar pâwahin ho.

Translation.

First let us invoke Ganeśa and Pârbatî ;
Then let us sing the *nahachhu* song of Râma.

1.

Who sings it becomes a saint and attains the highest place.[47]
The sins of countless lives will be washed away.
Countless instruments of music were played in the house of Dasrath.[48]
The kingdom the gods were overjoyed at witnessing [the ceremony].
The city appeared beautiful beyond description.
Kausalyâ could not contain herself for joy.
The young bamboo columns of the shed were studded with gems.
Fringed curtains of pearls were hung on all sides of it.

2.

The pitcher of Ganges water was at once sent for.
Young and beautiful women, with husbands still alive, were sent for to bathe Râm.
A square throne was made with pearls and jewels,
And after libations to the gods, Râm was seated on it.
The seat on which he sat was surrounded by golden columns.
Lamps of gems [49] were lit and then he sat on it.

---

[47] *I.e.,* he attains *bhakti* or devotional faith.
[48] The father of Râma.
[49] *Mânik* means red gems.

Decorated women came, knowing it to be a house of rejoicing.
Came the blacksmith's wife, chuckling over the box of iron lamp-black in her hand.

3.

The cowherd's wife brought in her hand the vessel full of curd of good omen.
The king [Dasrath] was happy to see her breasts waving.[50]
The charming[51] betel-seller's wife came with her packet of betel.
Whoever she looked at was bewitched.
The fair tailor's wife had brought a suit [of clothes],
Dyed with saffron and thoroughly perfumed.
The shoemaker's wife came hesitatingly[52] with diamonds in her hair-parting,
She entered the courtyard with a pair of pretty shoes.

4.

The beautiful sweet-tongued florist's wife came with the golden crowns;
As she brought it studded with gems she smiled.
The leaf-dishmaker's wife came with the calico umbrella:[53]
She had a slim waist[54], a moon-face and the eyes of a doe.
The barber's wife made use of her large eyes.[55]
She was chaffing the chief ladies and singing joyfully,
When a lady older than Kausalyâ gave her an order:[56]
"Go and perform the ceremony of Nahachhu on him that sits on the throne."

5.

Kausalyâ sat with Râma in her lap.
She cast her veil pleasantly round Râma's head.
She called the barber's wife to come quickly,
And the latter came smiling and charmingly decorated.
She held the nail-parer studded with small gems.
She could hardly hold herself for joy at the sight of Râma.
She had a *taruana* in her ears and a *besarî*[57] in her nose,
And round her neck was a bewitching garland of large pearls.

6.

On her wrist the *kankan*, round her waist the *kinkin*, and round her ankles the *nâpur*[58] were tinkling.
She wore the garment given her by the Rânî [Kausalyâ].
She asked (in joke): "Why is Râma dark and Lakshman fair?
Perhaps Rânî Kausalyâ has made some blunder.[59]

---

50 This shows Talasî Das's powers of observation. Ahîrinis do not confine their breasts like most Indian women, and they are usually pendulous and wave out.

51 The term used is *saloni*, salty.

52 Because of her low status in society.

53 The *bâri* is the maker of dishes and cups out of leaves which are held sacred. Both the *bâri* and his wife the *bârini* work as menials in high-caste Hindu families.

54 This is a good omen.

55 To a Hindu, eyes to be beautiful must be large. The sense is that the woman used her eyes to attract attention.

56 Among high-caste Hindus it is not customary for the givers of the feast at marriages, investment with the sacrd thread and similar ceremonies, to give orders to their servants. That is done by close relatives, male or female, while the givers do nothing beyond being civil to their guests. This explains the statement in the text.

57 These are special ornaments.

58 These are all tinkling ornaments: *kankan*, is a bracelet: *kinkin*, a bell: *nâpur*, an anklet.

59 This is the kind of chaff that is usual on such occasions.

Râma is I think the son of Dasrath, and Lakshman of some one else.
Bharata and Shatruhana are brethren of Śrî Raghunâth [Râma]."
To-day Awadhpur [Ayodhyâ] is full of merriment over the paring of Râma's nails.
Let us go to see the beauty of his palace.

7.

Congratulations to the barber's wife for being allowed to touch the nails of Râma.
She rolls her eyes to attract the attention of Śrî Raghunâth.
The feet that Râma's footwasher [60] is going to wash,
Are the feet that saints and prophets go to worship.
A very beautiful garland lies on Râma's breast.
His sidelong glance is anxiously awaited by saints and prophets[61].
While his nails are being pared, Râma's smile is indescribable.
His body is as soft and fair as the *padam-râg mani*.[62]

8.

[With *mehâwar*] she dyed the soft feet that had no defect.
She dyed the feet after them with water.
Then the relatives and friends rewarded her according to custom and their means.
Saith Tulasi Das : great is the delight to behold Raghunâth.
Kings gave elephants and queens gave garlands.
Thousands of winnowing-fans filled with gems were given [to the barber's wife].
The barber took them away in cart-loads.
The clansmen gave so much that he was satisfied.

9.

Beggars and servants were greatly rewarded and their troubles fled.
Everyone was made happy and slept without anxiety.
All the ladies sang and chaffed and joked[63].
Râma, the babe, was a little shy with his mother[64].
While all the ladies were laughing and joking together,
And the barber's wife threw perfumes over them with delight.
The bridegroom's [Râma's] mother, seeing them, was delighted.
She gave away millions of gifts in charity, like a cloud showering gifts upon the poor.

10.

Sing the songs of Nahachhu for Râm, the babe, and be happy.
Who sings them attains his heart's desire and real pleasure.
Dasrath, the king, sat on his royal seat with joy.
Saith Tulasi Dâs : much pleased to see his son king of the Raghu clan.
Who sings this Nahachhu song himself or hears it sung,
To him will the prophets and saints bring riches, wealth, prosperity and salvation.

(To be continued.)

---

60 That is the barber's wife.

61 That is to say, they anxiously await a glance of favour.

62 A particularly beautiful gem.

63 This is customary on such occasions.

64 Children often appear shy before their mothers, when they find themselves suddenly turned into boys. They will throw themselves into their mothers' arms after such ceremonies as this, and their mothers will say: "You are no longer a child, as you have been through such and such ceremonies. You must now go and live among the men and leave the women."

THE NAME COCHIN CHINA.[1]

BY M. LEONARD AUROUSSEAU.
TRANSLATED BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

"THE name Cochin China, which signifies to-day our Annamite colony in southern Indo-China, appears in European geographical documents at a date when the Annamites had not crossed the region of Qui-nho'n and when the Mekhong delta was still wholly Cambodian. Maps and records show also that this name was applied, as the years passed, to different territories. In short, it seems impossible to trace its origin to the geographical nomenclature of Indo-China, whether Chinese or Native. Let us first try and localise precisely the various regions called by this name at certain given dates, and then try and determine its derivation in the light of its oldest signification.

"Before it acquired its present significance, the name of Cochin China was applied by foreigners to the central and southern parts of modern Annam, in which the ancestors of the dynasty of the Nguyen had founded in the 16th century a prosperous kingdom, long distinct from the Annamite territories in the north of the peninsula. Up to the present it has generally been supposed that the word had no older meaning, and that therefore it could not itself be older than the middle of the 16th century. But we know that Nguyen Hoang, the earliest of these ancestors of the Nguyen to set out for Thuân-hòa, left the court of the Lê at Thang-long between November 10th and December 10th, 1558. The commencement of the kingdom of the Nguyen cannot then have preceded the arrival of Nguyen Hoang at Thuân-hoa; and the name of Cochin China, if from the first it signified this kingdom only, could not have come into use before 1558. But, as a matter of fact, there is evidence of the use of the name long before that date, and this is proved by certain important records which I have collected in the course of a hurried inquiry, and which I mention below, to indicate the scope of my enquiry.

"1. The earliest mention of the name Cochin China that I know is in A.D. 1502, in the Portuguese chart of the Genoese Albert Contino, where it appears in the curious form *Chinacochim*. This chart, the original of which is in the library of Modena, has been reproduced by Tomaschek in a work published on the occasion of the fourth centenary of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama. Contino places *Chinacochim*, in the character of a sea-port, at the mouth of a river which must be the Red River. Further south, about the level of the modern Central Annam, Contino notices another port named *Champacochim*.

"In this particular form, *Chinacochim*, which, reversed, gives us *Cochimchina*, the name Cochin China in 1502 refers to a spot in the Tonkinese delta. At that date and up to 1515 Portuguese navigators (or foreigners in the Portuguese service) had no direct acquaintance with the coast of Indo-China. Such information as they possessed came without doubt from Arab accounts and charts, or perhaps was furnished orally by Muhammadan sailors. Contino's statements must have been drawn in garbled form from one of these sources.

"2. The same remarks may apply to the form *Chanacochim*, which appears on a chart of 1503 approximately, prepared by another Genoese, Nicolo de Canerio, and preserved in the Hydrographic archives of the Ministry of Marine in Paris. Canerio seems, so far at least as concerns this point, to have copied his compatriot's chart.

"3. The ordinary form of the name appears for the first time, and twice running, in a letter addressed from Malacca on January 8th, 1515, by Jorge de Albuquerque to King Manoel of Portugal. At the beginning of the letter occur the words "*das mercadorias que vem da*

[1] The original article appears in the *Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême Orient*, Tome XXIV, 1924. I have omitted M. Aurousseau's numerous references in footnotes from considerations of space.

chyna e quachymchyna, syam, llequios " *i. e.*, " merchandise coming from China, from Cochin China, Siam, the islands Lieou-K'ieou . . . . " The second mention occurs on page 137, where the writer speaks of " junks from China or from Cochin China " in the phrase " *os junquos da chyna e quamchymchyna.*" The name of Cochin China is easily identifiable under the spelling *Quachymchyna* and *Quamchymchyna.*

" I may here mention that the writer of the letter, in including this name among those of countries like Pegu, China, Siam, etc., certainly intends to specify a particular kingdom. This kingdom unquestionably was Annam, subordinate at that date to the Lê dynasty, with its capital at Trung dô phu, which extended from Lang-so'n to Qui-nho'n.

" 4. In August 1516 Fernão Perez enters the " gulf of *Concamchina* " *i. e.*, the Bay of Tonkin.

" 5. Duarte Coelho, who sailed the first time along the Annamite coast between 1516 and 1518, was sent during the year 1523 to eastern Indo-China by Jorge de Albuquerque, to obtain detailed information about the country named Cochin China and the bay of that name. A letter from Jorge deAlbuquerque to the Portuguese King, dated January 1st, 1524, runs as follows : " *Mamdey duarte coelho a descobrjr cauchimchyna.*" Barros, writing about 1550, gives the following account of this occurrence : " *Vindo este Perduca Raja no fim de Abril de quinhentos e vinte e tres com estas quarenta lancharas, em se recolhendo pera dentro do rio de Muar quasi sobre a noite, houve vista delles Duarte Coelho, o qual hia em hum navio sen descubrir a enscada de Cochinchina per mandado d'El Rey D. Manuel, por ter sabido ser aquella enscada cousa de que sahiam mercadorias ricas. A qual terra os Chijs chamam Reyno de Cacho, e os Siames, e Malayos Cochinchina, á differença do Cochij do Malabar* . . . . "

" There can be no doubt that this mention in 1523-24 of the country and gulf of *Cauchimchyna* (Cochin China) is meant to denote the Annamite Kingdom of that epoch and more particularly the Tonkinese delta.

" 6. The chart of Diego Ribeiro, published in 1529, includes the name *Cauchechina*, to denote the Tonkinese and Annamite districts of the peninsula, and therefore the whole country of Annam from the opening of the sixteenth century.

" 7. Numerous references of later date—1535, 1543, 1549, 1550, 1572, 1588, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1603, 1604, 1606, 1613—all prove that the word Cochin China,—under a variety of spellings, *Cauchenchina*, *Cauchijchina*, *Cauchjichina*, *Cachenchina*, *Cauchimchina*, *Cauchichina*, *Coccincina*, etc.—signified in every case the whole of the kingdom of Annam.

" 8. One has to turn to the year 1618 to find the name of Cochin China used in its secondary sense ; namely to signify quite clearly the particular principality ruled by the Nguyen. The word appears for the first time with this meaning in the *Relatione della nuova missione delli P. P. della Compagnia di Giesu al regno della Cocincina*, compiled by the Milanese Jesuit Christopher Borri. The translation of the pertinent passages is as follows :—

> " Cochin China, so called by the Portuguese, is styled in the native tongue *Anam*,—a word signifying " western," as this kingdom lies in the west relatively to China. For the same reason the Japanese call it *Coci*, which has the same meaning in their language as Anam in the Cochinchinese tongue. But the Portuguese, introduced into Anam for trade through the agency of the Japanese, formed from this Japanese word *Coci* and the other word *Cina* a third name *Cocincina*, which they attached to this kingdom, calling it, so to speak, *Cocin of China*, in order to distinguish it from Cochin in India, which they also visited.
>
> " If Cochin China appears as a rule in maps and atlases under the name of *Caucincina* or *Cauchina* or some similar form, that is merely due either to the corruption of the real name or to the fact that the mapmakers wished to indicate that this kingdom was on the borders of China.

"In the south this kingdom borders on Chiampa (Champa), at an elevation of eleven degrees from the pole: in the north, but slightly to the west, it borders on Tunchim (Tonkin); on the east lies the China sea; and on the west, towards the Northwest, it borders on the kingdom of the Lai (Laos).

"As regards its extent, I speak here of Cochin China alone, which is a portion of the great kingdom of Tonkin . . . .

"Cochin China is divided into five provinces. The first, bordering on Tonkin, where the king resides, is called Sinuua (Thuận-hoa); the second, Cacciam (Ke-cham), where the king's son resides as Governor; the third, Quamguya (Quang-ngai); the fourth, Quignin (Qui-nho'n), which the Portuguese call *Pullucambi* (Poulo Gambir); the fifth, which borders Campa, is named Renran."

"Despite the errors it contains, this passage from Borri's account is interesting and shows clearly that in the view of the author and his contemporaries the Annamite kingdom of the Lê was, towards the middle of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, divided into two parts:—(*a*) Tonkin (*Tunchim*), lying between the Chinese frontier on the north and the river Linhgiang on the south; (*b*) Cochin China (*Cocincina, Caucincina, Cauchina*) or the Nguyen principality, which extended from the river Linhgiang on the north as far as Cape Varella in the south.

"We thus obtain evidence in the account of the Milanese Jesuit, written between 1618 and 1630 and published after 1631, of the earliest use of the name Cochin China in its limited sense of a single portion of the Annamite kingdom, namely that lying between Dong-ho'i and Cape Varella. Borri could not have been aware that the name had previously been used to designate the whole of the Annamite country; he says nothing about it indeed, and seems on the contrary to believe that the usual name applied by foreigners to the kingdom of the Lê, prior to the independence of the Nguyen, was Tonkin.

"But what is the starting-point of this use of the ancient name of Cochin China in its new signification ?

"According to Father de Rhodes, who arrived in Cochin China in December, 1624, the first Jesuit missionary to enter the country was the Neapolitan Busomi, who landed at Tourane on January 18th, 1615. Father Borri arrived three years after Busomi. On the other hand, there were no Jesuits in Tonkin at that date, as the Tonkin mission was not established until 1626. The missionaries in Central Annam were the first therefore to find the need of describing by a separate name the country which they proposed to evangelise, and which enjoyed a separate political existence under the powerful Nguyen rulers. They were acquainted with the names Tonkin and Cochin China from the narratives mentioned above. The former clearly signified the northern part of the kingdom of the Lê; the latter had a wider, less exclusive, meaning. Did the missionaries actually blunder over the latter meaning, as I suspect, or did they decide to apply the name Cochin China exclusively to the southern portion of the Annamite kingdom ? It is not easy to decide which of these two solutions is correct. Whichever it be, however, it is quite clear that it was the founders of the first Christian missions in the Annamite country who, on their arrival in 1615 in the principality of the Nguyen, used the name Cochin China for the first time to designate that principality and nothing more. Consequently one may assert that the name with this special significance attaching to it cannot be earlier in date than January 18th, 1615.

"9. This new value accorded to the name of Cochin China was invested by the reports of the missionaries with an authority rendered all the greater by the fact that no need was felt to preserve the name in its ancient significance: for the missionaries, as we have seen, did not establish themselves till ten years later in the northern portion of the Annamite kingdom, a country which they continued to designate by the name of Tonkin.

"In fact the various references to Cochin China from 1618 onwards indicate quite clearly that the name preserved its secondary meaning (*i.e.*, the southern portion of Annam, starting

from the Dong-ho'i district) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and part of the nineteenth. The most important of these references, *viz.*, those of Father de Rhodes in 1624 and 1627, of Father Baldinotti in 1626, and the charts of 1640, 1650, 1666, 1705, and of later year ranging from 1721 to 1882,—suffice to establish this fact.

" One finds the name Cochin China preserving its secondary meaning during the whole period from 1615 to 1882, but with this constantly changing significance, that the country to which the name is applied extends ever further in a southerly direction, in proportion as the Annamites descend from the north.

" During that period the country becomes unified. The conquering Nguyen have welded together the Annamite lands by the opening of the nineteenth century. The name Annam, on the other hand, which was used by Europeans from the seventeenth century onwards to signify the whole of the kingdom (comprising Tonkin in the north and Cochin China in the south), preserved this meaning as late as 1882.

" It must be added that in 1861 disorder was introduced into the geographical nomenclature of the country by a new factor, the French occupation. From that date the necessity of distinguishing the occupied from unoccupied territories led to the former being styled " Lower Cochin China " or " French Cochin China," and to the latter keeping, according to their actual situation, the name of Cochin China or Tonkin.

" 10. Finally, in 1883 the nomenclature tends to become fixed and is finally settled in 1887. Tonkin retains its name. Cochin China, properly so called, loses its name and receives the special title of Annam, which on the other hand ceases to signify absolutely the whole of the Annamite lands ; Lower Cochin China or French Cochin China receives the special name of Cochin China. Thus we arrive at the third meaning of this name, which has lasted to the present day.

" To recapitulate, the name Cochin China, in various phonetic forms, has in the course of history possessed three distinct meanings in the geographical literature of Europe :—

(*a*) from 1502 to 1615 : Cochin China signifies the whole of the Annamite kingdom, comprised between China in the north and Champa in the south.

(*b*) from 1615 to 1882 : Cochin China is the name of the portion of the Annamite country, situated to the south of the Tonkin of that epoch and lying between the Dong-ho'i region on the north and the southern frontier of Annam (this frontier assuming a more southernly location as the Annamites advanced).

(*c*) from 1883–1887 to the present day : Cochin China signifies the French colony in the south of the Peninsula, while the central portion of the Annamite country, lying between Cochin China in the south and Tonkin in the north, receives the name of Annam.

" If, then, we would inquire into the etymology of the name Cochin China, we have good ground for taking as the starting point of our inquiry the geographical value of the name in the opening years of the sixteenth century, at the moment when it was employed to signify the whole of the Annamite kingdom. At that date the country included the modern Tonkin and Annam as far as the Qui-nho'n district : but one must bear in mind that Annamite sovereignty was by no means firmly established to the south of the Col des Nuages, and that the kingdom was properly organized only in the twelve *trân* to the north, from Lang-so'n to Thuân-hoa.

" The earliest references to the name Cochin China almost invariably connect it with the so-called Gulf of Cochin China (the modern Gulf of Tonkin, though extended considerably southwards). The only Annamite ports which were accessible and certain to provide an opening to traders in the sixteenth century were in fact those of the Tonkinese delta. There the first Portuguese sailors who 'discovered Cochin China,' and the foreign travellers before them who came to trade in the Annamite country, must have disembarked. One may therefore conclude that the name Cochin China, while signifying from the outset the whole of

the kingdom of Annam, was specially applied from 1502 to 1515 to the country entered by way of the Bay of Tonkin.

"When Jorge de Albuquerque wrote his letter of January 8th, 1515, no Portuguese, no European, was yet properly acquainted with the Annamite country; and this must have been still more the case, thirteen years previously, when Contino prepared his chart of the Far East.

"The name of this country must therefore have been passed on to the Portuguese by travellers in the Far East before the end of the fifteenth century. These travellers can only have been Chinese, Annamites, Chams, Malays, Javanese, Persians, Arabs, or Turks. Chinese, Annamite, Cham and Javan geographical nomenclature supplies, so far as I am aware, no term which could have given use to the full name Cochin China. The Malays spoke of *Kuchi* or *Kuchi-china*, neither of which terms can be explained in the Malay tongue. The problem thus remains unsolved. It remains to investigate the puzzle from the Persian, Arab, and Turkish standpoint.

"Prior to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope (November 22, 1497), the existence of the Annamite kingdom had already been announced to Europe by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. The Venetian had given this kingdom the name of *Caugigu*, in which one must recognise the words *Kiao-tche Kouo*, "the land of the Kiao-tche (Giao-chi)," by which the Chinese had been accustomed to describe the Tonkinese regions fifteen hundred years before the date of Marco Polo.

"The same name in a slightly different form is found at the opening of the fourteenth century in the *History of the Mongols* by the Persian Rasid-ud-din, who speaks of the country of *Kafchekuo* (=Kiao-tche Kouo).

"The name *Kiao-tche* was thus already in vogue in the fourteenth century in non-Chinese lands, European and Muhammadan, to designate Tonkin, the most important part of the Annamite country, and also—by a natural extension of the term—to designate the Annamite kingdom regarded as a whole.

"For a long period, indeed, the great Moslem navigators (Persian up to the ninth century, followed by Arabs up to the commencement of the sixteenth century) sailed across the Indian Ocean and the China seas; they maintained relations with the ports on the east coast of Indo-China and learned to know the country of *Kiao-tche* (the Annamite kingdom).

"But these navigators had a special geographical notion about these coasts and about the countries in the south of Eastern Asia. A scrutiny of the records of maritime journeys, of the itineraries and sailing instructions, discloses the fact that Muhammadan sailors gave the name China a widely extended meaning.

"Thus in 1224 the geographer and sailor Yakut (1179–1229) writes in his *Mu'jjam al Buldân*.—'Ma'bar (Coromandel) is the last country in India. Next comes China, of which the first (region) is Djâwa (Java or Sumatra); thence one enters a sea which is difficult of access and fertile in disasters. One arrives at length in China proper.'

"In the thirteenth century the botanist Ibn al Baytâr, in his *Traité des simples*, notes that the northern areas of China are styled in Persian '*Chîn Mâ-Chîn* (*i.e.*, China of great China; *cf.* Sanskrit *Sîna Mahâsîna*), equivalent in Arabic to *Chîn al-Chîn*, China of the Chinas, for the Persians call China *Sîn* (Chîn).'

"Kazwînî (1203—1283), in his *Kitâb'ajâib al-makhlûqât wa gharaib al-maudjûdât*, speaks of the islands of the China Sea, and includes among them Java, Sumatra, Nias, etc. The same author in his *Kitâbâthâr al-bilâd wa akhbâr al-'ibâd* further states that Java and Sumatra are parts of China.

"In the thirteenth century Ibn Saîd clearly distinguishes 'China' (*Chîn* or the countries on the east coast of Indo-China) from 'China properly so-called' (*Chîn al-chîn*), or the regions situated on the north side of the straits of Hai-nan. He shows the town of Manzî as the capital of Chîn al-Chîn or of China properly so-called. Now one knows that Manzî, derived

from Chinese *Man-tseu*, is the name employed by the Arabs to designate southern China, subordinate to the southern Song (1127–1279). It follows from this that the countries called *Chîn* (China) by Ibn Said had nothing in common with China proper, as they lay to the south of the Chinese empire and actually were independent of it.

" Rasid-ud-dîn himself (1310) extends the Chinese area as far as the island of Lâkawâram (Nicobar) and the continent named Champa (the Champa of the opening of the fourteenth century, that is to say, roughly the parts of Annam situated to the south of the Col des Nuages).

" Dimaqî, who wrote just before 1325, speaks also of Champa 'situated on the coast of China.' Abûlfidâ (1273–1331) states that 'the frontiers of China in the south-east touch the equator, where there is no latitude.' He reports similarly that the island of Sribuza (Srîvijaya=Palembang) is given as a dependency of China.

" I omit several other analogous references of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which betray the same misconception and are therefore superfluous, and I pass on to extracts from the treatise entitled *Muhît* (' the Ocean ') by the Turkish admiral Sidî 'Alî Chelebî (1554) :

'The sea-routes to the coast of Chîn and Mâchîn resolve themselves into the following itinerary. First from Singâfur (Singapore) . . . . to Kanbûsâ (Cambodia) ; from Kanbûsâ to Sambâ (Champa) . . . . from Sambâ to the Gulf of *Kawchi* (Kiao-tche =the gulf of Tonkin), etc.'

' The port of *Kawshî* in *Chîn* (Kiao-tche in China) . . . . '

' The gulf of *Kawshî* in *Chîn* (=the gulf of Tonkin in China) . . . . '

' Kawshî in Chîn.'

' Sanbâ in Chîn (Champa in China) . . . . '

' Laghûr in Chîn ' . . . . ' Cape Kanbûsa (Cape of Cambodia, in the present Cochin China in Chîn).'

' Lung-sakâ (Tenasserim) at the extremity of the coast of Chîn (China).'

' Kalândan (Kelântan on the east coast of the Malay peninsula) on the Coast of Chin (China) ' . . . . etc.

"These examples suffice to show that from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century Muhammadan geographers divided the coasts of Eastern Asia into two large areas, distinguished by the following names :—

(*a*) *Chîn* (China), comprising Indo-China, from the Malay peninsula to the Hai-nan straits, and

(*b*) *Mâchin* (Great China or China proper), extending to the north of the " Gates of China," *i.e.*, north of the Hai-nan straits.

" In those days all the countries of the Indo-Chinese coast, lying between the Malacca and Hai-nan straits, were, in the view of Arab sailors, situated in Chîn (China). These sailors, as the passages above-quoted show, had consequently to follow the general practice of adding to the name of each of those countries the word Chîn, which indicated their general situation. This is precisely what happened in the case of the name of the Annamite country, Kiao-tche ; for the *Muhît* of Sîdî 'Alî Chelebî mentions several times Kawchî of Chîn (Kiao-tche of China). Sîdî 'Alî Chelebi wrote about 1554, but it is well-known that he was a compiler, rather than an original composer, and that his *Muhît* is largely composed of earlier Arab texts, amongst the latter being a translation of the *Nautical Instructions* of Suleiman al-Mahri (beginning of the sixteenth century) and translations of the chart-books and essays on navigation of Ibn Majid, who was Vasco da Gama's Arab pilot across the Indian Ocean and who composed his treatises between 1462 and 1490.

"The Tonkinese delta, one might even say the whole Annamite kingdom, was thus certainly styled by the Arabs " country of Kawchi of Chin " at the close of the fifteenth and the opening of the sixteenth century, that is to say, at the time when the Moslems entered into relations with Portuguese navigators and taught the latter the main sea-routes and the names

of the principal lands washed by the Indian Ocean and the China seas. The Portuguese, 'whose earliest charts are based upon Arab sailing instructions," had no alternative but to register purely and simply (and before they had themselves discovered the Gulf of Tonkin) the name which the Arabs gave to the Annamite country.

"We may here remark that of all the countries situated on this coast and described as "of Chin," Kawchî is the only one of which the name has continued, after Arab and Portuguese times, to bear the distinctive affix 'of Chîn.' All the rest, Champa, Laghur, etc., have lasted without being linked for any great length of time with this distinguishing affix, which no doubt disappeared directly people realised that it embodied a radical geographical error. It is possible that the exception allowed in the case of the name we are discussing arose from the fact that there existed in India a practically identical and widely known place-name, that of the port of Kochî (Cochin). It was doubtless necessary to retain the affix 'of Chîn', in order to distinguish Kawchî of Chîn from Kochî in India.

"Such must have been the origin and use of the name Cochin China. The Arab expression 'Kawchi of Chîn' in fact corresponds in a wholly conclusive manner with the earliest normal Portuguese forms of the word Cochin China. The two first readings, those of January 8th, 1515, *Quachymchyna* and *Quamchymchyna*, are almost identical; for I regard the *m* in *Quam* as a copyist's error for *u*, an error which appears again (*n* for *u*) in certain unusual forms at the beginning of the sixteenth century, *e.g.*, *Concamchina* (1516), *Canchimchyna* (1524), and disappears entirely after 1529. The most ancient ordinary Portuguese form of the word is therefore either *Quachymchyna* or *Quauchymchyna*, the first half of which (*Quachy* or *Quauchy*) is an exact transliteration of the Arab *Kawchî* and, through the Arabic, of the Chinese *Kiao-tche* and Cantonese *Kaw-chi*.

"The examples chosen by M. G. Ferrand from the Arabic MS. No. 2559 in the Bibliothéque Nationale appear to indicate that, in order to translate the expression 'Kawchî in China' or 'Kawchî of China,' the Arab would have to say either *Kawchi min al Chîn*, which exactly represents 'Kawchî of the China,' or, by suppressing the superfluous article, *Kawchî min Chîn* or 'Kawchî of China.' I may be pardoned for venturing here upon ground which is unfamiliar to me, but it seems to me quite likely that it was in the latter simplified form that the name was ordinarily spoken by the Arabs and was heard by the Portuguese. The Arab phrase *Kawchî min Chîn* (or, in a single word, *Kawchîm(in)chîn*) is all the closer to the earliest Portuguese forms of the name Cochin China, in that the central syllable *min*, which means 'of' and is of secondary importance in the name, must have been pronounced quickly, so as to leave a clear mark of nasalisation. This Arab form therefore explains fully the earliest Portuguese renderings: it also explains the nasal sound in the middle of the word, which is universally present in every mention of the name in all languages, and which has survived to our own times in the central *n* of the word Cochin China.

"We thus have a group of sound historical, geographical and linguistic reasons for deriving the name Cochin China, through the Portuguese *Quachymchyna*, from the phrase by which the Arabs, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, meant to designate the Annamite kingdom, and more particularly the Tonkin sea-board. This expression *Kawchîm (in) chin* signified that the kingdom was that of Kawchî (*Kiao-tche*), the traditional Chinese name for Tonkin, known in Europe since the time of Marco Polo, and that it was situated on the eastern coast of Indo-China, that is to say, on the coast of Chîn (China), according to the geographical nomenclature in vogue among Arab navigators and travellers.

"Thus the fair fortune and the meaning of this simple name, Cochin China, which bears to-day the impress of French renown, are accounted for by the brilliance of Moslem power and the still more radiant glory of the Portuguese navigators in the Indian Ocean, more than five centuries ago."

GOVERNOR JOSEPH COLLET OF MADRAS ON THE HINDU RELIGION IN 1712.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

IN the *Proceedings of Meetings*, vol. VI, of the Indian Historical Records Commission, January 1924, pp. 29 ff, occurs an informing paper by Miss Clara E. J. Collet, Fellow of University College, London, on the excellent private letter books of Joseph Collet of Madras (1717—1720), as preserved in her family. They contain the observations of a very capable man, anxious to learn all he could about the natives of the countries in which he travelled or had to work. We consequently obtain from them valuable views on the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, of Bencoolen in Sumatra, and of Madras.

Amongst the extracts given by Miss Collet (one cannot but hope that she will some day publish the whole collection of letters) is one of great interest, as it shows how an English enquirer, full of his own religious views, looked on Hinduism as he thought he learnt about it. Incidentally it shows also how an educated Indian attempted to expound his religion to an interested and educated European. Collet writes as follows :—

" The first time I arriv'd in this place was in the year 1712. I soon found a great variety of religions profess'd here, Christianity of severall sorts, Popish, Protestant or Arminian [native Christians], besides Mahometanism and above all Paganism [Hinduism], which has much more numerous disciples than all the rest together. They are divided into the right-handed cast and the left-hand cast, and these again are sub-divided into eighteen several casts or Tribes.[1]

" Here are Churches of all the several Religions I have named, but the most magnificent structures are the Pagan Temples, called the Pagodas. Passing by one of them a few days after my arrival, I made up to the Gate, which was open, with a design to see what sort of Gods dwelt there, but the priests were too quick and shut the Gate before I could enter.[2]

" I asked one of the Religion with me why they would not permit me to see the Pagoda. He told me they did not care to admit Christians, and seem'd to insinuate that the Priests thought that the presence of a Christian would defile their Temple. I told him I rather believed they were ashamed to expose their Gods to our View. He reply'd : 'We are not such fools as to think the Images in our Pagodas are Gods. We know very well there is but one Supreme God, Creator and Preserver of all things. The Images in our Temples are no other than symbols and representations of the several perfections of the one Supreme Being. An Image with many hands, holding Arms and Mechanicall Instruments, represents his infinite power : another with an elephant's joyn'd to a Human Face signifies his infinite wisdom, the Elephant being esteem'd the most sagacious of all Brute Animalls.' He added several others.

" I smiled and was about to reply, but he prevented me and went on as follows :—' There is no greater Difficulty in all this than in your Christian Religion, for you say with us there is but one God, and yet you say, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are each of them God, by which you must mean that the one God is call'd the Father as he is the Maker of all things, and he is called the Son as he is reconciled to Sinners, and he is called the Holy Ghost as he

1 This statement shows that Collet had grasped that Hinduism is divided into an enormous number of sects, which he thought were castes, although, of course, his view thereof is very vague. He evidently thought that the most prominent among them were the Right-hand (Dakshinâchârî) and Left-hand (Vâmâchârî) divisions of the Shâktas, worshippers of the female energy in life (Shakti). The statement is a comment on the hold that Shâktism had on Hinduism, when the latter first came under Western observation.

2 Here we have a hint of the difficulties that Brâhmans must have had in dealing with Europeans of importance. Neither side had any idea of the notions or religious feelings of the other.

inclines men to do Good. So with us, our many Images represent to us the various perfections of that one God, whom both you and we worship.' Here he stopped, expecting my Answer, which I was in no condition to give him, but stood for some time perfectly confounded.[3]

"I knew very well the explication he had given of the Trinity was the Sabellian Scheme,[4] which I could not assent to, and on the other hand I durst not say that there are three distinct persons equally God, lest he should charge me with Polytheism, which is as plain a violation of the first Commandment as the Adoration of Images is of the Second.[5]

"In short I was glad to change the Discourse by asking what representations those were, pointing to the monstrous figures at a little distance. He told me one of them was a transformation of the God (Vishnu), and the other was the Devil, before whom on a certain day every year a thousand goats were sacrificed. This gave me a large Field of raillery on his Religion and the opportunity of my concealing my Ignorance of my own Religion[6].

"When I came home and reflected on the passages of the day, I blush'd for shame that I had not been able to give a rationall Account of my own Faith to a heathen, and resolv'd to lay hold on the first opportunity to examine a Doctrine I had been taught to believe was a mistery and note to be pry'd into. It happened the next Sunday the Athanasian Creed was read in Church."[7]

---

3 I take it that the "one of the Religion" with Collet was an educated Brâhman, who knew English well and had studied Christianity. His exposition of the use of images in Hindu Temples and of Hindu monotheism goes to show that he must have been a Bhâgavata, which sect is essentially monotheist, with devotional faith in one Personal God as its main doctrine. Bhagavatism is very old—pre-Christian in fact —and has long been the faith of the educated Hindu, permeating both the Vaishnava and Shaiva forms of their religion.

4 At the end of the Second Century there was a great controversy between the Adoptisnists and the Modalists, holding respectively that Christ was the chosen Man of God and that Christ was a manifestation of God Himself. In the Third Century the protagonist of the Modalists (Unitarians) was Sabellius, a Libyan, whose doctrine created a great controversy (the Sabellian Heresy) and lasted till the end of the Fourth Century. The "Sabellian Scheme," with various modifications as time went on, was that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are the same person, three names being thus attached to one and the same Being. The three forms of the One God in the Sabellian view were the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Giver of Life. It will be seen that Governor Collet was right in remarking that the Hindu's "explication of the Trinity" was "the Sabellian Scheme," and why, as a strict Trinitarian, he could not assent to a strictly Unitarian view.

5 Collet evidently was not aware of the Hindu Trinity (Trimûrti), which is the three-fold manifestation of the Supreme Brahman, the Incomprehensible, with unity of Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Shiva, the three prominent, and to the people equal, Gods of the Epics, as the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer. The Hindu and the Christian Trinities are not, however, philosophically identical. The former Religion holds that there is one God and three manifestations of Him, and the latter that there are three Persons in one God.

6 The first image must therefore have been that of one of the *avatâras* or incarnations of Vishṇu. What the other image represented, it is impossible to say, as Collet apparently did not wait to enquire if it was male or female. It was probably an image for 'the people,' and did not belong to the "religion" of his informant, on whom, therefore, his "raillery" was lost.

7 Collet had very strong and free views on religious practice, and the Schism Act of 1714 roused him to much wrath and to a desire to fight it as soon as his government in India was over. *Inter alia* the Athanasian Creed was abominable to him.

THE CAPITAL OF NAHAPANA.

By V. S. BAKHLE, M.A., LL.B.

The date of Nahapâna, the Kshaharâta Kshatrapa, who ruled over Northern Mahârâshtra, Gujarat and other adjoining provinces is still disputed. There is, however, a question of no less importance, viz., the capital of his kingdom ; and scholars are not agreed on this question also. We propose in this article to show that the capital of the kingdom of Nahapâna was situated at Junnar, a view which was first put forward by the late Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar.[1]

The controversy about the capital of Nahapâna was, to all appearances, finally set at rest by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the pages of this journal [2] where he stated, relying mainly on the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea and the Geography of Ptolemy, that the capital of the kingdom of Nahapâna was Dashapura or the modern Mandasor. The Periplus mentions Minnagara as the metropolis of the kingdom of Mambaros and of all India, and Ptolemy in his geography mentions a Minnagara, which lies 2° N. and 2° E. of Broach, a place which roughly corresponds with the modern Mandasor, known in ancient times also as Dashapura. The mention of this place, in Mr. Bhandarkar's opinion, as one of the places of Ushavadata's benefactions fully corroborates this view. "I have often thought it was impossible for Ushavadata not to have made any benefactions at the capital town of Nahapâna, and consequently one of the four cities (Dashapura, Sopâraga, Govardhana and Bharukachchha) must have been his capital. But Ptolemy's Geography no longer leaves the point in doubt." [2]

Before we proceed to discuss this identification, it is necessary to ascertain the extent of the dominions of Nahapâna. Nahapâna, we know, had a daughter named Dakshamitra, who was married to Shaka Ushavadata, son of Dinika. We have inscriptions of this Ushavadata at Karli and Nasik, in which he records his benefactions at various places. Some of these benefactions are grants of land and villages, construction of rest-houses, erection of drinking places, etc. The nature of these benefactions and especially his land grants show that Ushavadata was not an ordinary donor. We could hardly expect a private person to grant lands and villages and to arrange for the comforts of people in so many different places. It is obvious, therefore, that Ushavadata exercised some authority over the provinces, in which the places of his benefactions are situated. "The localities at which the benefactions were made," observes Rapson, "may be supposed to lie within the province of which Ushavadata had special charge. They indicate generally the extent of that part of Nahapâna's dominions to which the political influence of Ushavadata was restricted." [3] From the enumeration in his inscriptions of the places of benefactions we may infer that the provinces under Ushavadata included Ajmer, Kathiawar, Gujarat, Western Malva, North Konkan, from Broach to Sopara, and the Nasik District. But this is not all. "The place names in the inscription of Bâlâshrî seem undoubtedly to indicate the provinces which her son Gautamîputra wrested from the Kshaharatas." [4] Of these Suratha, Kukura, Avanti, and Aparanta were provinces under Ushavadata. There only remain Akara, Asaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha. It seems highly probable that Nahapâna himself ruled over these provinces. The generally accepted view, however, is that his rule stretched as far as Ajmer in Rajputana, and included Kathiawar, South Gujarat, Western Malva, North Konkan, and Nasik and Poona Districts. But these were mainly the provinces to which the political influence of Ushavadata was restricted. Over what province or provinces then did Nahapâna rule ? Or had he consigned all his territory to the charge of his son-in-law ? Nahapâna, we think, must himself have ruled over Akara, Vidarbha, Asaka and Mulaka. The mention of these countries in the inscription of Bâlâshrî at Nasik implies that they were wrested from the Kshaharâtas by Gautamîputra ; it is not in the least probable that

1 *Bom. Gazetteer*, vol. 1, pt. ii, p. 160.
2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, pp. 77–78.
3 *Catalogue of Andhra Coins in Br. Museum*, p. cx.
4 *Ibid.*, p. cxi.

they were inherited by him. A glance at the map of India would show the improbability of the assumption that these provinces were held by the Sâtavâhanas, while the Kshaharâtas were in ascendency. It seems, therefore, that these provinces were included in the dominion of Nahapana and were further under the direct rule of the Mahâkshatrapa.

This being then the extent of Nahapâna's dominions, we can now look for his capital amongst the provinces over which he himself ruled. The mere fact that so many of Ushavadata's benefactions are recorded at Nasik is not sufficient justification to warrant the inference that Nasik was his capital.[5] It is not possible at the same time to place his capital so far distant as Dashapura or the modern Mandasor. Various objections can be raised against this latter identification. Mr. Kennedy has shown that the Periplus was written in about 70-71 A.D., and that the identification of Mambaros with Nahapâna is wrong.[6] It may be, however, that the Periplus refers to one of the successors of Nahapâna, of whom there were many, as evidenced by the varying effigies on their coins. And since the capital of Nahapâna must have continued to be their capital also, the Minnagara of the Periplus must have been the capital of Nahapana himself. The question remains, however, whether it was the modern Mandasor. An inscription of Nahapâna's minister is found at Junnar, a large collection of his coins was found at Nasik, while Mandasor or Dashapura was more or less on the borders of his kingdom. It seems hardly probable, therefore, that this place, though in all probability known as Minnagara in ancient times, was the capital of Nahapâna.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar is wrong in holding that "it was impossible for Ushavadata not to have made any benefactions at the capital town of Nahapâna." It has been generally admitted that the place-names in the inscriptions of Ushavadata indicate the provinces that were consigned to his charge by Nahapâna. In the provinces that were in his charge, Ushavadata was free to make any benefactions he liked ; but not in the capital city of his lord. This view will be confirmed also by the nature of Ushavadata's benefactions. We can certainly understand Ushavadata granting lands and villages and erecting quadrangular rest-houses at places which were within the provinces consigned to his charge ; but it is difficult to see how one of the places of Ushavadata's benefactions must be regarded as the capital of Nahapâna.

It was Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who first suggested the probability of Junnar being the capital of Nahapâna. "The capital of Nahapâna was probably Junnar, since the inscriptions of the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have record there of the gift of his minister." [7] Junnar was a very important town. It was on the Nana Pass route and thus occupied an important position. There are nearly one hundred and fifty caves round about Junnar and as many as thirty-two inscriptions, all of which have been dated on paleographic grounds between 150 B.C.—150 A.D. It was as great and flourishing a town as Nasik, Dashapura or Bharukachchha. If we do not find any record there of Ushavadata's benefactions, the only explanation is that it was outside the territory which was in his charge.

Even at Junnar the visitor is pointed out the remains of an old city ; and the name may mean either 'the old city' or, like our modern Junagad, 'the city of the Yavanas'! Very likely it means 'the city of the Yavanas' and the name is a coruption of the old name, Minnagara. "In support of this suggestion it may be noticed that at the head of Ptolemy's Nanaguna (which apparently is the Nana Pass, though Ptolemy makes it a river) to the south of Nasik and to the east of Sopara, is a town called Omenogara which, as the Yavanas were called Mins, may be either Minnagara or Yavananagara, that is, Junnar." [8] The latitude and

[5] Smith. *E.H.I.*, pp. 217. 291.

[6] *JRAS.*, 1918.

[7] *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 160.

[8] *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. XVIII, pt. ii, p. 213n.

longitude degrees of Omenogara, according to Ptolemy,[9] are 114 ; 16.20 ; and the name Nanaguna, at the head of which this town was situated, is probably due to the fact that by the side of the Nana Pass there is another less useful pass, which is known even to this day as the Guna Pass. The Nana Pass is to the north of the bare thumb-like pinnacle of rock, locally known as 'Nana's Thumb,' and the Guna Pass is to the south of the Thumb. We must, therefore, regard Ptolemy's Nanaguna as referring to the Nana and the Guna Passes ; and the latitude and longitude degrees given by Ptolemy fully support us. At the head of Nanaguna there is Omenogara, which obviously corresponds to our modern Junnar. Not far from Junnar there is a river known as the Mina, and the valley watered by that river is still known as Minner. Furthermore, Ptolemy mentions two Minnagars, and Mr. Bhandarkar has not assigned good reasons for identifying the Minnagara mentioned in the Periplus with the Minnagar in Ptolemy, which corresponds with modern Mandasor. We must, therefore, conclude that Minnagar mentioned by the author of the Periplus is the Omenogara of Ptolemy and Junnar of modern times. It was the capital of Nahapâna, from which he ruled over the Eastern possessions, while Aparanta, Gujarat and the Northern possessions were in the charge of Ushavadata.

PIHUNDA, PITHUDA, PITUNDRA.[1]

By SYLVAIN LÉVI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

"THE Jain *Uttarâdhyayana Sutra* (XXI, 1—4, translated in *Sacred Books of the East*) relates the story of a merchant named Pâlita, who departs from Champâ, the capital of Aṅga on the lower course of the Ganges, on a journey by boat to the city of Pihuṁḍa, whither his business summons him. There he marries, and later returns to his own country. While on the sea, his wife gives birth to a son, who is called Samudra-pâla "the sea's ward."

"The Jain *sutra* is written in Prakrit ; the name of the city, Pihuṁda, leads one to infer that the original form of the name contained an indistinct aspirate between vowels, which was changed in Prakrit to a simple aspirate.

"The Hâthigumpha inscription of king Khâravela of Orissa appears to supply the word for which we are looking, corresponding to the Prakrit form Pihuṁḍa. Lüders, indeed, in his List of Brahmi Inscriptions (*Epig. Ind.*, X, vii) under No. 1345, writes in his analysis of this difficult but important inscription : 'In the eleventh year he had some place founded by former kings, perhaps Pithuḍa, ploughed with a plough . . . .' Pithuḍa may legitimately be read as Pithuṁḍa, which would become Pihuṁḍa in Prakrit ; the inner nasal in no case presents any difficulty. But unfortunately the mutilated text of the inscription affords no clue to the situation of Pithuḍa. We find that in the following or 12th regnal year, Khâravela 'makes the kings of the North tremble' (*vitâsayaṁto Utarâpadhırâjâno*) ; one must therefore look for Pithuḍa elsewhere than in the North. The East is likewise excluded, for the sea lies on that side. There remain the West and the South. In the passage above-quoted Lüders has adopted the reading proposed by the late Bhagvanlal Indraji, who was the first to decipher the inscription scientifically (*Proceedings of the Sixth Congress of Orientalists at Leyden*, Part III, sect. II, 1885). Bhagvanlal read as follows :—

puvarajanivesitam Päthudaṁ gadaṁbhanagalena kasayati.

Lüders alters Päthuḍam into Pithudaṁ on the strength of impressions of the inscription.

"Since then Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has taken up the study of the whole text, the numerous *lacunae* in which are to him an additional attraction. In the third volume of the *Journal*

[9] McCrindle ; Ptolemy, pp. 175-76 where the editor observes that nothing is known about Omenogara.

[1] This article is No. II of "Notes Indiennes", by M. S. Lévi, which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCVI, Jan.—March, 1925.

of the Behar and Orissa Research Society he has published for the benefit of epigraphists an excellent impression of the inscription. His reading and translation differ from those of previous scholars in a surprising and disquieting manner. He believes that the passage as a whole describes a procession in honour of a king, who lived thirteen centuries earlier, ' . . . . which had been established by the former kings in the City of Pṛith-udaka-darbha and which is pleasing to the country.' A note informs us that the city in question must have been in Kaliṅga. Finally we are told after a discussion (p. 437) that the passage refers to the statue of a certain king Ketu, installed at Pṛthûdakadarbha, 'the city abounding in water and *darbha* grass.' This rendering is based on a new reading of line 11,—*puvarâja-nivesitam Pithudaga-dabha-nagala nekâsayati* . . . .

"It is at once obvious that the difference in the interpretation of the passage depends rather upon the method of splitting up its component words than upon any novelty of reading. The differences of reading are confined merely to the following syllables :—*Pî* (Bhag. *Pâ*; Lüders, *Pi*); *da* (Bhag. *daṁ*; Lüders, *ḍa*); *le ne* (Bhag. and Lüders, *lena*); and they are concerned purely and simply with certain accessory signs, attached to the clear outline of the consonants and regarded somewhat arbitrarily as either script-signs or chance-marks in the stone. Mr. Jayaswal neither explains, nor thinks it necessary to explain, the difficulties which form the stumbling-block of the general body of inquirers, viz., the vowel *e* in the syllable *ne* of *nekâsayati*, which he doubtless equates with *niṣ-karṣayati*, as he translates it 'he leads out'; and this being so, the absence of an aspirate in the *ka* (always and in all places *nikkha*); and thirdly and above all, the amazing construction of the sentence, *viz.*, epithet in the accusative, locative, verb, epithet in the accusative, a bunch of six words forming a compound noun in the accusative—and what a compound, calculated to be the despair of the schools of grammarians! *terasa-vasa-sata-ketu-bhada-tit amara-deha-saṁghâṭaṁ*, which signifies, it appears, '[he leads out in procession] the *nîm*-wood formation of the immortal body (*i.e.*, statue) of His Highness Ketu who (flourished) thirteen centuries before'. One thinks involuntarily of the scene of the Bourgeois Gentilhomme with the son of the Grand Turk.

"For the purpose of record I reproduce here the translation of the same passage proposed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the same journal (vol. III, 486 *et seq.*) : 'He caused the reputation of the feet (*i.e.*, the worship) of the Jina to expand in the city of Pithuḍaga-dabha founded by former kings.'

"On the other hand, the first interpretation (of Lüders and Bhagvanlal) requires no special effort for its justification. The sense follows normally from the meaning of the verb *kasayati*. The verb *kas*=*karṣ* is applied properly to ploughing, and therefore evokes by natural association of ideas the name of the plough, *naṁgala* (here *nagala*; cf. *Pithuḍa-Pihuṁda*), this being the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *lâṅgala*. *Gadabha-nagala* seems to refer to a plough drawn by an ass. I do not remember in the texts any case of this kind, in which, in order to destroy a city, the conqueror causes the soil of it to be ploughed. But such action is by no means unlikely or inconceivable.

"Ptolemy, describing the towns in the interior of the country of the Maisôloi (VII. 1. 93), calls the capital *Pitundra mêtropolis*. The country of the Maisôloi, or Maisôlia (VII. 1. 15), takes its name from the river Maisolos, which signifies the whole extent of the mouths of the Godâvarî and the Kistna. The *Periplus* speaks of Masalia, instead of Maisôlia. This word has been for a long time connected etymologically with the first part of the well-known name Masulipatam. Maisôlia extends northwards to Paloura, or more precisely to the cape of the *apheterion* close to Paloura. The coast-towns Kontakossyla, Koddoura, Allosygnê, and the inland towns Kalliga, Bardamana, Koroungkala, and Pharutra have not yet been identified. Ptolemy places Pitundra in the hinterland, between the mouths of the Maisolos and the Manadas, or in other words, between the deltas of the Godâvarî and Mahânadî, at an equal

distance from both. We must therefore look for the site of the city between Chicacole and Kalingapatam, if Ptolemy's information approximates to the truth. That being so, we are once more restricted to the tract of country, in which we have sought for the site of Dantapura, in the direction of the course of the Nagavali river, which is also named Languliya or 'the river of the plough.' The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* itself points to this derivation of the name : '*langala* (Sanskrit), *nâgula* (Telugu), a plough.' This designation, when associated with the memory of Pitundra, recalls the passage in the inscription, in which Khâravela boasts of having 'ploughed the soil of Pithuḍa with the plough.' Is it not possible that one of the names of the river perpetuates the memory of that unusual punishment ?

"The transliteration of the Indian name Pithu(ṁ)ḍa in the form Pitundra, used by Ptolemy, is normal. The Greek has a tendency to represent the actual sound of the Indian cerebrals by the addition of an r, as, for example, in the name of the Araṭṭa of the Panjab, which is written Aratrioi in the *Periplus* (p. 47), and in the name of Kulindrinê in Ptolemy, which clearly corresponds with a form Kuliṇḍa, intermediate between Kulinda and Kuṇiṇḍa.

"We remark, however, that Lassen, who dealt with an important collation of variants, always writes the name in the form Pitynda and not Pityndra (III. 202 and 281).

"The name Pithuṁḍa-Pihuṁḍa seems to be connected with the name of a people, of whom we obtain a glimpse in the *Mahâbhârata*. In the seventh book, *adhy*. 50, the poet describes Yudishthira's army ; on the left wing the Southern recension mentions the Tuhuṇḍa between the Agniveśas and Mâlavas (*Agniveśas Tuhuṇḍâś cha Mâlavâḥ*. . . .). But this line is not found in the Calcutta and Bombay recensions. On the other hand, the Calcutta edition, three verses earlier, mentions among the rear-guard contingents the Huṇḍas, between the Paṭaccharas and the Pauravakas : in this place the Southern recension and the Bombay text substitute the more familiar Paundras for the Huṇḍas. If the form Huṇḍa is correct, one ought clearly to find it in verse VI, 50, 52 of the Southern edition ; and this we actually do, if we divide the words as follows :—*Agniveśâs tu Huṇḍâs cha*. The name Tuhuṇḍa, however, appears elsewhere in the *Mahâbhârata*, but as a personal name—the name of an Asura, son of Danu (I. 65, 2533) who becomes incarnate on earth as king Senâbindu (I. 67. 2655). Tuhuṇḍa is also the name of one of Dhitarâshṭra's sons (I. 186. 6983 C ; 201, 3 Southern).

"Pithuda had been founded by a king of old time for his abode (*puvarâjanivesita*) ; it was a royal seat. Pitund(r)a in Ptolemy's account is a metropolis, a capital. The agreement is complete. If Pithuda was really destroyed by Khâravela, it is natural that the name should not appear in later texts and passages. The mention of the name in a Jain canonical work would seem to offer fresh proof of the antiquity of Jain tradition. But in this case one necessarily feels some surprise at finding the name in Ptolemy's work, which is two or three centuries later than the date of Khâravela. One can only conclude in these circumstances that Ptolemy, in constructing his Tables, made direct or indirect use of original materials appreciably older than his own age. That is a point to be borne in mind, when one uses information embodied in Ptolemy's works."

THE MUTINY AT INDORE.

(Some Unpublished Records.)

BY H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

(Continued from page 128.)

No. 432.

Mhow, July 8th, 1857.

Sir.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of this day's date, asking for advice regarding matters connected with the Malwah Contingent.

As I am in complete ignorance of what has already occurred at Mehidpore, may I beg that His Highness will inform me under what circumstances the men of the Contingent demand increased pay ;—whether such demand was made known to, or sanctioned by, Colonel Durand ; —what number and description of men still remain firm at Mehidpore ;—what officers are with the Contingent ;—and what amount of arrears of pay are due to the men. If His Highness will be good enough to order this information to be sent to me, I will gladly give him the best advice in my power.

I have etc.,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

To Bhao Rao Ramchunder Rao.

No. 434.

Mhow, July 9th, 1857.

Sir,

On reconsidering the purport of your letter of the 8th instant, regarding the Malwah Contingent, I beg to offer the following advice to His Highness the Maharaja.

1. From what I have heard of Colonel Durand's desire to benefit the condition of the men of the Contingent, I believe that the Acting Resident has applied for the sanction of Government to place them on the same footing as the native regiments of the line, with regard to pay, for the good behaviour of the artillery and infantry during the disturbances at Mehidpore. This application is, I think, certain to be attended to ; but as no demand can be sanctioned if made by the Contingent in any other but a respectful and subordinate manner, I hope the men will well weigh the great advantages they will gain by continuing the conduct which has already met the approval of the Resident, and refrain from actions which will cause them to forfeit what they have so well earned.

2. As it is impossible that the good men of the Mehidpore Contingent can continue staunch without officers to encourage and support them, and as the whole of the officers of the Contingent have apparently at this time left Mehidpore, I think it would be very advisable, if the Maharaja would try and persuade Captain Fenwick to take command of the Contingent at the present moment.

3. Were Captain Fenwick to take this step at this crisis, maintain a proper state of discipline and subordination in the corps, and hold Mehidpore until properly reinforced at that station, I think the good service he would do the British Government would be thoroughly appreciated, and highly rewarded by it, and such service would also redound greatly to the credit of His Highness the Maharaja himself.

I have etc.,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

The Bhao Rao Ramchunder Rao.

H.

Telegraph Message from Lord Elphinstone.

Directions have been sent to Captain Orr to move along the left bank of the Nerbudda to Barway, and join the advancing column from Aurungabad.

I.

Mhow, July 11th, 1857.

Maharaja Sahib,

I regret to hear from Oomed Sing that your Highness is under apprehension that your conduct will be misconstrued by the British Government. I have reported to the Bombay Government, for the information of the Supreme Government, everything that has occurred at Indore and Mhow since the lamentable outbreak on the 1st ; and I feel assured that the simple record of your actions, showing your sincere desire to tranquillize your country, will be proof sufficient to Government of Your Highness' loyalty and good faith to your friend and ally.

I deeply regret that Colonel Durand should have left Indore under so mistaken an impression, as that your troops (over whom you had lost your control) were acting in accordance with your orders. Should Colonel Durand have, under this impression, reported to Government the attack on the Residency as instigated by yourself, I feel certain that your Highness' actions, as subsequently reported both by Captain Elliot and myself, will dispel the error, and prove convincingly to the Government that your wish is now, as it has always been, to be their firm friend and supporter, under whatever difficulties may beset you. Trusting that the expression of my firm convictions may allay your Highness' apprehensions.

I beg to subscribe myself,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

K.

To Colonel Durand,
Offg. Agent, Governor General, Central India.
Mhow Fort, July 12th, 1857.

My dear Sir,

Both Captain Elliot and myself have written to you, detailing events at Indore and Mhow ; but, from your not having replied to our letters, I fear they must have miscarried.

I regret exceedingly your having quitted this part of the country, the more so, as you appear to have been under a mistaken impression regarding Holkar's intentions. Holkar was as helplessly under the control of his mutinous troops as we have ourselves been under that of ours. Since the mutineers from Mhow, joined by some of Holkar's troops (the whole headed by Saadut Khan, who attacked you), left Indore on the 4th, the Maharaja has done everything in his power to aid us in our efforts to tranquillize the country, and has shown by his actions his earnest desire to fulfil faithfully his duties to the British Government. Copies of correspondence which has passed between the Durbar and myself have been forwarded to you, which will prove the truth of what I state. The whole country is now in a tranquil state in the neighbourhood of Mhow. At Indore some of the Mahomedan troops are still in an excited and insubordinate state, and the Maharaja cannot yet control them ; but as soon as the European troops advancing from Aurungabad reach this, it is the intention of the Maharaja to disarm all those on whom he cannot place dependence, and to punish severely those who have been implicated in any way in the late disorders. On my first telegraphing to Bombay the events at Indore and Mhow, a detachment of native troops, consisting of 400 Nizam's cavalry and a company of infantry, was pushed on by forced marches, under Captain Orr, for the relief of Mhow. But this fort, thanks to the hard labour of the Europeans, has been placed in such a state of defence, and we are so well provisioned, that it would take an army to attack it. The advance of native troops alone, would, in the excited state of the Maharaja's troops, do certain injury to the latter ; and perhaps the relieving troops themselves might have suffered from coming within the influence of the religious excitement prevailing

here. Under these circumstances I requested fresh orders regarding them ; and Lord Elphinstone has ordered them to remain on the left bank of the Nerbudda, until the arrival of the column from Aurungabad. On the 11th one column left Aurungabad, and another column left Bombay on the 9th. Two or three hundred dragoons here would be sufficient to place the whole of Malwah in as tranquil and peaceable a state as it was in, six months ago.

The Durbar report that some of their troops in the district have shown signs of disaffection, and several of the vakeels of petty States, who used to be in attendance at Indore, have left Indore. The impression that their superiors will receive from the absence of all political authorities from the seat of your agency, would have been so injurious that I have, during your absence, assumed political authority here, so far as to be able to communicate with the Maharaja, and advise him on subjects which were of much importance, and regarding which, in your absence, he was at a loss how to act. These matters I have reported in detail to Lord Elphinstone, and trust that, under the circumstances, I shall be borne out in what I have done.

My position here has been a difficult one ; but I have acted to the best of my ability for the good of the service. Captain Elliot has been most kind in assisting me ; and, had it not been for his advice and assistance in many matters, much would have been unthought of, which has been of great use and benefit. I trust that what I have said will induce you to return to Mhow. Your presence would restore confidence. The country itself is tranquil. A few European troops would enable Holkar to disarm those who were implicated in the late outbreak ; and a small moveable force, to punish those tributaries of Holkar who have taken advantage of the disturbances at Indore to cause dissensions in their own petty districts, would be sufficient to bring the whole surrounding country under complete control.

The mutineers from Mhow and Indore are to-day at Pachore, moving as expeditiously as they can, on Agra or Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain.

L.

Telegraph Message from Lord Elphinstone, for delivery to Holkar.
13th July 1857.

I have received your Highness' 'Khureeta,' dated the 1st. The assurance of your regret at the part taken by your troops in attacking the Residency, and at the late unfortunate occurrences at Mhow and Indore, is very gratifying to me, and I trust that the Governor-General's Agent will soon return to Indore. General Woodburn has been obliged, from ill health, to give up command of the troops that are advancing to Mhow, but Colonel Stuart, who has succeeded him, is fully impressed with the necessity of using all practicable speed. I hope that your Highness will be able to maintain the tranquillity of the country until the reinforcements arrive.

M.

Answer to above.
July 14th, 1857.

Your Lordship's message has been delivered to Holkar ; and he is most grateful for the manner in which his explanations have been received. A long letter has been forwarded by him for delivery to your Lordship, expressing his feelings of loyalty and attachment to the Government, and sorrow for what has occurred, which will be sent by letter Dak.

Captain Hutchinson, assistant to the Resident, with his wife, Mr. Stockly and family, and others, were taken prisoners, and Bhopawar burnt down and pillaged, by order of the Raja of Amjheera. Holkar, although Amjheera is a tributary of Scindiah, immediately

marched a force towards Amjheera, caused all the prisoners to be released, and they are expected here to-morrow. The responsibility of this step I have taken upon myself.

The Malwah Contingent still continues at Mehidpore. The Maharaja, at my suggestion, sent a confidential native officer to take command of the Contingent during the absence of its own officers. The men are yet in a very mutinous state ; but it is hoped that they may be restrained from open outbreak, and kept at Mehidpore until other troops arrive there.

Holkar's troops are still excited and mutinous, but have as yet been kept quiet.

Colonel Durand has been written to, and Holkar's feelings and position explained to him.

N.

No. 28 of 1857.

To Major Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

Sir,

I have the honour, by desire of His Highness, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 440, of the 19th instant, with the annexed copy of a message from the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay, and to express to his Lordship and to yourself His Highness' high sense of the obligations for the kind consideration shown to him in his peculiar situation, and the support you have throughout afforded him.

I have etc.,
(Signed) Ramchunder Rao.

[True copies,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.]

Indore, 21st July, 1857.

No. 439.

Mhow, July 17th, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour to report for your information that the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay, having ordered me to make over all correspondence with Holkar to Captain Hutchinson, who arrived at Mhow last evening, I have done so this day.

The Malwah Contingent, I am happy to say, still remains at Mehidpore. The Raja's Contingent, it is reported, has mutinied, and marched on Gwalior.

The situation of the Garrison at Saugor, and the straits, they will probably be reduced to, unless very quickly relieved, I reported to the Government of Bombay last evening and this morning, by telegraph.

No communication of any kind has been received by the Indore Durbar, or by me, from Colonel Durand. The accompanying letter will prove to Government the tranqullity which prevails at the present time throughout Holkar's territories ; but there are many disaffected throughout the country, and it is urgently necessary, for the safety of Central India and the whole of Rajpootana, that a large body of Europeans should be sent to Mhow, to form a moveable column, as quickly as possible.

Having used my best endeavours to restore the confidence of the Maharaja of Indore, and to maintain order at Mhow, and through the surrounding country at a dangerous crisis, when the political authorities had relinquished their posts, I trusted that the Government would have had sufficient confidence in me to have allowed me to continue the work successfully commenced and carried through, until I could make it over to Colonel Durand. I regret

that this could not be permitted ; that what I have done has been appreciated by the Maharaja and his Ministers, I trust the annexed letter will prove.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

To the Secretary to Government. Bengal.

Palace, 14th July 1857.

My dear Sir,

It is, with the highest gratification, I read your yesterday's letter, together with the message from the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay, to His Highness' address ; and I offer my sincere thanks to you for the trouble you have taken in restoring the confidence of the two Governments. What I know from the feelings of His Highness, I can assure you that the assistance you have so kindly rendered to our Government at this crisis shall always be gratefully remembered, and the whole credit of smoothing the difficulties will always rest with you.

I remain, my dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) Ramchunder Rao.

Captain T. Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

[True copy,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding Bengal Artillery, Mhow.]

No. 883 of 1857.

Secret Department.

From H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.
To Captain T. Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

Dated 16th July 1857.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 431, of the 10th instant, with accompaniments, relative to your further proceedings at Mhow, and to forward copy of a resolution thereon, passed by Government, under date the 15th instant.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) H. L. Anderson,
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 16th July, 1857.

Resolution of the Board, Dated 15th July, 1857.

Resolved :

That receipt be acknowledged, and copies forwarded to the Government of India.

That Captain Hungerford be requested to continue his reports, which are perused by this Government with very great interest.

That officer may further be informed, that as far as this Government is able, in the absence of all local knowledge, to judge of his proceedings, they appear to have been characterised by judgment and resolution.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council will feel the greatest pleasure in expressing to the Supreme Government his opinion that, in a most difficult position, Captain Hungerford has shown himself equal to the emergency.

(Signed) Elphinstone,
(Signed) J. C. Lumsden,

[True copy.
(Signed) H. L. Anderson,
Secretary to Government.

15th July, 1857.

(To be continued.)

MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

FROM THE COLLECTION MADE BY THE LATE DR W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

(*Continued from page* 133.)

V.

Songs at various ceremonies.

With Explanations by Râmgharîb Chaube.

1. A Kangan Song.

Recorded by Kanhayyâ Lâl, a School-teacher of Kasâolî, District Agra.

Explanation by Râmgharîb Chaube.

The ceremony of untying the bride's *kangan* is a survival of a custom of marriage by abduction, when there was a struggle between the bride and her husband, afterwards ceremonially represented by a mimic struggle.

Text.

Kangan kî ghurî gai gânthî : kholo mêrê Râmjîwanâ.
Raj lâgat uṛî gaî Ahalyâ ; tum Mârich subhâvhanâ.
Toryo dhanuk Janak ke dware : kahan gayo so zor ghenâ ?

Kangan kî ghurî gaî gânthî : kholo mere Râmjîwanâ.
Bolî leu Kekaî Sumitrâ, tumhâre âp matâ.
Kai bolo Kaushalyâjî kûn : jânai dharî garab janâ.

Kangan kî dhurî gaî gânthî kholo mere Râmjîwanâ.
Hâri jâu kai Janak sutâ son, jâten tihâro prân thanâ.
Karo nihoro kai bhanjinî ko, den kaho kachhu âp dhanâ.

Kangan kî dhurî gaî gânthî kholo mere Râmjîwanâ.
Pâtî Râm ; Râm sakuchâne chit man lagyo dharanî tanâ.
Khulati nâ gânthi bhaî ghun gaṛhî Janak Kunwarî ko prem sanâ.
Kangan kî dhurî gaî gânthî kholo mere Râmjîwanâ.

Translation.

The Bride's party sings :—

The *kangan* knot is tied perfectly : open it, Râm of my life.
Like a flock of dust Ahalyâ flew away, and you conquered Marich.[65]
You broke the bow at the door of Janak : whither has gone that power now ?

The *kangan* knot is tied perfectly : open it, Râm of my life.
Call Kekaî and Sumitrâ, your own mothers.[66]
Or call Kaushalyâ : she'll be so proud to have borne you.

The *kangan* knot is tied perfectly : open it, Râm of my life.
Or be defeated by the daughter of Janak, with whom you are now contending,
Or fawn upon thy sisters-in-law and give them some money.[67]

The *kangan* knot is tied perfectly : open it, Râm of my life: says Pâtî Râm [68]:
Râma felt ashamed and cast his glance upon the earth[69].
The knot was not opened as it was well fastened, till the daughter of Janak was awakened to love[70].
The *kangan* knot is tied perfectly ; open it, Râm of my life.

---

65 All the personages mentioned in the song are those in the story of Râma and Sitâ.

66 All the elderly women of a family are 'mothers' to the younger people. The inference is that if the bride-groom can't untie the *kangan*, his "mothers," the old women, might be able to do it.

67 Râm's sisters-in-law would be Sitâ's sisters.

68 The name of the composer of the song.

69 He thought that Sitâ was the daughter of Mother Earth and hence he felt that he could not win the victory and hung his head for shame.

70 The daughter of Janak is Sitâ, the wife of Râma.

2. The kingdom of Bâsuk.

Recorded by a School-teacher in the Village School at Datâwalî, District Agra.

Explanation by Râmgharîb Chaube.

This song comes from a high-caste Hindu family, and like others of its class, it complains of the dark skin of the bridegroom, the inference being that the "twice-born" Hindus came into India from a country where the skin of the people was fair. Hence the love of fairness on the part of the Hindu population of India.

Text.

Bâbul, ek pachhitâyo man raho :
Bâbul, ek pachhitâwo man raho.
Bâbul, ham gorî, bar sâmaro :
Bâbul, ham gorî, bar sâmaro.

2.

Betî, man pachhitâo janî karo :
Lâlî, man pachhitâwo janî karo.
Dhartî ke Bâsuk sâmaro :
Dhartî ke Bâsuk sâmaro.
Gokul ke Kanhaiyâ sâmaro :
Gokul ke Kanhaiyâ sâmaro.

3.

Kâkul, ek pachhitâwo man raho :
Kâkul, ek pachhitâwo man raho.
Châchâ, ek pachhitâwo man raho.
Châchâ, ham gorî, bar sâmaro.

4.

Betî, man pachhitâwo mat karo :
Lâlî, man pachhitâwo janî karo.
Dhartî ke Bâsuk sâmare :
Gokul ke Kanhaiyâ sañware.

5.

Betî, ghar hîñ pitâ tihâre sâmare.
Lâlî, ghar hîñ chachâ tihare sâmare.
Betî, ghar hîñ biran tihare sâñware.
Lâlî, ghar hîñ mâñsî tumharî sâñwalî

6.

Lâlî, aisî pachhatâwâ janî karo :
Lâlî, aîsî pachhitâwâ janî karo.
Betî, karam likho, so pâiye :
Lâlî, karam likho, so pâiye.

Translation.

1.

Father, there is one trouble in my mind :
Father, there is one trouble in my mind.
Father, I am fair, my husband dark ;
Father, I am fair, my husband dark.

2.

Daughter, make no trouble for your mind :
Darling, make no trouble for your mind.
Bâsuk, king of the Earth,[71] is dark :

[71] Vâsuki, the Nâga king of the Lower World, is always represented as dark.

Bâsuk, king of the Earth, is dark.
Kanhaiyâ[72] of Gokul is dark :
Kanhaiyâ of Gokul is dark :

3.

Uncle, there is one thing on my mind :
Uncle, there is one thing on my mind.
Uncle, there is one thing on my mind :
Uncle,[73] I am fair, my husband dark.

4.

Daughter,[74] make no trouble for your mind :
Darling, make no trouble for your mind.
Bâsuk, king of the Earth, is dark :
Kanhaiya of Gokul is dark.

5.

Daughter, in your very home your father is dark :
Darling, in your very home your uncle is dark
Daughter, in your very home your brothers are dark.
Darling, in your very home your uncle[75] is dark.

6.

Darling, make no such trouble in your mind :
Darling, make no such trouble in your mind.
Daughter, what is written in one's fate doth one receive :
Darling, what is written in one's fate doth one receive.

3. A Mangal Song.

Sung by a Brâhmaṇî of Chhiwârâ, District Farrukhâbâd, and recorded by Dr. W. Crooke. Explanation by Râmgharîb Chaube.

This song illustrates the great chase taken by the maternal uncle in the marriage of his niece.

Text.

1.

Kâhe kâran bhain supâriyâṅ ? Kâhe kâran kusum ?
Kahe kâran jeh dhî upjîn ? Sajan, karo byohâr.
Pân chaban ko boin supariyâṅ : rang ko boge kusum.
Nem dharam ko e dhî upjîn. Sajan, karo byohâr.

2.

" Dhâo, re nauâ : dhâwo, re baiyâ : dhây khabarî lai âyo.
Aggim dhundho : Pachchhim dhundho : dhundo dhur Gujrât.
Ketik log barâtî aye ? Ketik nautik hâr ? "
" Assî piyâde : sau aswâr : barâtî or na chhor."

3.

Itanî jo sunî bâbul mere kampe, " Ab, dhî, rahâhu kuṅârî.
" Jin, bâbul, hâlo. Jin, bâbul, dolo : karo barothe ko châr.
Bhât râṅdh mere mâmâ dîhain : châchul karâhîṅ biyah.

72 Kanhaiyâ = Kṛishṇa, who as king of Gokula, is also always represented as black.

73 The bride addresses both maternal and paternal uncles in the vernacular.

74 All girls in a family are " daughters " to the older generation.

75 *Mâṅsi* is mother's sister's husband : uncle-in-law.

4.

Vyâhi chalo Dasrath ke betâ : lai chalo rath baithay.
Unche unche gaî palakiyâ : nihalen gaye aswâr.
Bâgh tale hoyâ nikarî, palakiyâ, koyal shabd sunây.

5.

" Ab ka bolai, pyari koiliyâ ?
Chhâṛâ bâbul ko âtan ; pâtan nirmal kokh.
Chhâṛâ bhâway ki râm rasoî.
Yâ biran ki abhilakh dhunâi.

Translation.

1.

" Why was born the betel-nut ? Why was born the saffron-flower ?
Why was born this little girl ? Son-in-law, perform the marriage ceremony.
Betel-nuts were born for making *pân* : the saffron-flower for dying.
This little girl was born for virtue. Son-in-law, perform the marriage ceremony.

2.

" Run, ye barbers : run ye leaf-dish makers, and bring us news.
Search the East, search the West : search ye for Gujarât.
How many have come to the procession? How many have come as guests.?"[76]
" Eighty on foot : a hundred on horse-back : the procession is innumerable."[77]

3.

Hearing this my father trembled. " Now, my daughter, remain a virgin."
" Be not afraid, my father : my father, grieve not : make arrangement for lodging the procession.
My maternal-uncle will feed them with rice : my uncle will see we married."

4.

Dasrath's son[78] started on the marriage procession : he took his bride in a chariot.
The bride's palanquin went on the high-road ; the riders went on the paths beside it.
When the palanquin passed out of the garden, the *koil* sounded his note.

5.

" What sayest thou[79], dear koil ?
I am leaving now my father and my mother's pure lap[80].
I am leaving the food cooked by my brother's wife,
And my brother for whom my heart will always burn.

4. Chhand Paṛhnâ Verses.

Recorded by Râmgharîb Chaube from the lips of Pandit Jorî Lâl of Sahâranpur.
Explanation by Râm Gharîb Chaube.

These verses (*dohâs*) are repeated by bridegroom to the women of the bride's family.

Text.

1.

Lat lâgat chhutat nahîn ; jibh chônch jari jât,
Kyâ Kachhu mîthâ agni meṅ ? Kyoṅ chakor chung jât ?

2.

Pâwak chungat arek rit ; bhasm kasang ko ang.
Sheo bibhûti nastak charhai, tan pâûṅ satsang.

76 So far the father has been speaking.
77 This is the messenger's reply.
78 *I.e.*, Râma, the typical bridegroom.
79 The bride is again speak.
80 *kôkh* = *kôṅkh* : lit. stomach, womb.

Translation.

1.

A habit is not left, though tongue and beak be burnt.
What sweetness is there in fire ? Why does the partridge eat it ?

2.

It is right to eat fire, to get the body burnt.
Shiva puts ashes on his body, then he has the company of the well-behaved.[81]

Text.

3.

Aranî rati karan paî, ta dadhî sat dharî dîn
Bhanu yoti parbad bhaî ; tab kirne chug lîn ?

4.

Hañsâ chhor, chakor chug ; Karanyahî Jamâl ?
Hañsâ jânyo agni hai ; lawar swet hai kâl.

Translation.

3.

A woman painted her hand red and placed a pearl in it.
When the sun shone brightly : who picked it up ?

4.

The swan left it, but the partridge picked it up : Jamâl asks why ?[82]
The swan thought the red hand was fire and the pearl its burning flame which meant death[83].

5. Going to the Bridegroom's house.

Sung by Râm Kishn, a Brâhman and recorded by Hriday Râm, a Brâhman of Dehrâ.

Explanation by Râmgharîb Chaube.

The interest of this song lies in the fact that firstly, it shows that marriages were formerly celebrated in the winter, *E.g.*, Râma himself was married in Aghan. Secondly, it shows that the bride has a great dislike to her husband's unmarried sisters. This last is a common situation.

Text.

Bârambar maiñ puchhoñ, merî babal ; kis ritu karoge byâh, jî ?
Sâwan no howai, betî ; Bhâdon no howai : Kâtik men karongî byâh, jî.
Sât shakal ka bâbî mandwâ rachwâo, unche chunâwo chatsâl, jî.
Am tab Korî merâ dolwâ re niksâ : koyal shabad sunawai, jî.
Tum kyoñ bolai, hariyâlî re koyal ? Maiñ chhorâ bâbal ko desh, jî.
Agar bhî chhoṛâ ; bagaṛ bhî choṛâ ; chhoṛî nagar kî sîm, jî.
Ki ham âwaiñ, bâbî, kâj prayojan ? Ki ho ham chhakiñ chhamâs, jî ?
Ham haiñ, merî bâbî, châmak chiriyâ ; uṛî kar par ghar jâyangî, jî.
Pahile manrî merî ghar phuawâ ; pher manrî sasurâl, jî.
Mâyar rowai, merî pâlkî bhijai ; bâbul ghar ganbhîr, jî.
Bairîñ rowai mera mukh dhar anchta ; bhâwaj ânand badhâwâ, jî.

Translation.

Continually I ask, my father : when shall I be married ?
Not in Sâwan, daughter, not in Bhâdoñ : in Katik[84] will you be married.
There shall be built a marriage-shed of six kinds, and also high throne, my dear.
My palanquin was placed by Korîs under a mango tree, and the *koil* raised its voice.
O *koil* of the greenery, why dost thou sing ? I am leaving my father's country.

---

81 These verses are clearly a riddle and its answer. The *chakor* or partridge is asked the riddle in the first stanza and it replies in the second : he who burns himself or is burnt, is reduced to ashes and these ashes are rubbed on the forehead of the image of Shiva (Mahâdeo).

82 Jamâl is the composer's name and he asks the question, because the pearl is the swan's food (mythologically) and not the partridge's.

83 Here again we have a riddle and its answer, both being conventional.

84 That is not in Summer, not in Autumn, but in Winter.

I have deserted my home ; deserted my country : deserted my village precincts.
Shall I return, dear, for *kaj prayojan* ceremony ? Shall I return after six months ?
I am a wandering bird, my dear, destined to fly to another's home.
First my father's sister waves the lamps (round my head), and then it will be my father-in-law's sister.
When my mother weeps, my palanquin is wetted (with her tears) and my father's home is heavy.
(Even) my enemies weeping catching at my veil : but my brother's wife rejoices (to see me go).

6. The Bridegroom comes.

Recorded by Tulshi Râm, a teacher in Lâlpûr, District Aligarh.

Text.

Bhîno barnâ awai.
Bharat Shatrughnâ sang hain jâke : galiân dhûm machâwai.
Gâwat gunî ; munî jan nâchat ; Indra nishân bajâwain.
Janam suphal jo kinho châho, yâ men manhî lagâwai.
Jo tero man yâmen âwai, Yam ke jâl chhurâwai.
Ram-sakhî ko pyâro barnâ rahase, rahesî gun gâwai.

Translation.

The young bridegroom comes.
Bharata and Satrughna are with him : there is noise in the streets.
The skilled are singing : the saints are dancing : Indra plays on the drums.
If you would make life profitable, attach your heart to him.
If you attach your heart to him, you will be freed from the share of Yama.[85]
Ram-sakhi[86] loves the bridegroom with delight, and sings a song of delight.

7. An Aratî song.

Recorded by Râmgharîb Chaube.

Explanation by Râmgharîb Chaube.

This is a song sung when lamps are waved round the head of the bridegroom or bride. It has many points of interest in it. For instance it, with other marriage ceremonies, has reference to the matriarchate and descent through women, as it is the bridegroom's (or bride's) sister or father's sister that must wave the lamps in preference to any other relative. In this song, too, it is sea-water that is most propitious and more lucky than "sacred earth" or "cow-dung," and this is an important point to observe. So also is the way in which the use of betel is mentioned.

Text.

Erî gobarû, gobari matiyajo milai ; bidhî mulai samundar ko nîr. Mere au Paṇḍit, karu ârto.
Erî Paṇḍit, Paṇḍit phir ghar jâhu ; merî au phûphû karu arto.
Erî phuphu, punchhaingî, punchhai athaiyân bât betî kâ har lâgo arto.
Erî, lâgai hain ; lâgai hain pân pachâs ; rupaiâ lâgai hain derh sau.

Translation.

O the cowdung, the cowdung and the earth is found : it would be luck to find the sea water. Paṇḍit, wave the lamps.
O Paṇḍit, Paṇḍit, go home again : my father's sister will wave the lamps.
O my father's sister will ask many questions of the articles for the daughter's lamp-waving.
O they are ready : fifty (*bîrâs*) of betel are ready ; and rupees are ready, a hundred and a half.

(To be continued.)

85 The god of death.

86 The author.

MISCELLANEA.

THE FAIR AT PAKPATTAN AT THE TOMB OF BABU FARID SHAKARGANJ.

The great attraction at this annual Fair is the opening of the Gate of Heaven[1]. Many are the stories current of the wonderful powers of the great saint Bâbâ Farîd Shakarganj, the most authentic being one of which the guardians of the tomb produce proofs. The Baba, so the story goes, was sitting on the roadside outside the town, when a caravan of merchants with their camels loaded up with fruit passed him. The Baba asked for some of their fruit, and, on being refused, warned the merchants that on their arrival at the town, they would find their fruit turned to stone. The merchants laughed and passed on, not knowing who it was they had offended. When, however, they unloaded their camels, to their dismay they found the curse had come true, and their fruit been turned to stone. Are there not specimens of these stones bearing the shape of apples, pears, &c., to be seen at the holy man's tomb!

When eventually the Baba went the way of all flesh, it was published far and wide that whoever passed through his tomb between sunset and sunrise on the new moon in August, would be forgiven the sins of the past year, and the Fair became established for the benefit of the town and the faithful attending it.

The fame of this Fair spread as far as the North-West Frontier and down to the United Provinces; consequently it was attended by the burly Baloch with his large turban and flowing white robes, the stalwart Pathân with *kulla* (conical cap) and tightly-tied *pagrî* (headdress), and the Punjabi and down-country Muhammadan, all bent on the fun of the Fair, the forgiveness of sins, and the renewal of old acquaintanceships. The Hindu population, though they could not pass through the door, made the most of the opportunity to sell sweetmeats and other delights, and make new and look up old customers who were worth cultivating.

On the final night of the Fair, when the Gate is to be opened, all the gates of the town are closed, and the pilgrims collect at them, waiting the signal from the guardians of the tomb that the sun has set. On the signal (a rocket) being given, the Gates are opened, and a struggling mass of sweltering humanity passes through and up the narrow street of the town till it reaches the tomb, and goes through it in single file. No women are allowed through the tomb, so the menfolk have to go through for their mothers, sisters, cousins, and aunts, and a continuous stream of pilgrims passes through till dawn. At sunrise the door is shut, and the chance of forgiveness of last year's sins ends.

They are an orderly lot, these penitents, and look upon the whole thing as a huge joke, the greater number of them; others take it more seriously, and so it was that one year when the crowd were moving very slowly the police used the light switches they had in their hands to hurry them up. Instead of resenting this attention, the people rather courted being hit, and on making inquiries it transpired that among a certain class of Muhammadans the belief exists that between earth and Heaven there is a bridge composed of naked sword blades with gaps in it, and below Hell. The faithful cut their feet, but they get across; the bad lots fall through the gaps. The police switches represented the sword blades, and the people who got hit considered they had cut their feet, and so were doubly sure! So, having got rid of last year's sins, why not start a fresh account? And if on the way home a stray buffalo gives a young man the opportunity of purloining it, and thus proving himself "a man" (for in these cattle-lifting areas no young fellow is a man till he has lifted his first head of cattle), why neglect the chance?

R. R.

BOOK-NOTICES.

A DUTCH BOOK ON MALABAR. History of Kerala: being Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar, by K. P. PADMANABHA MENON, B.A., B.L. Government Press, Cochin, pp. 562. Price Rs. 8.

Malabar is specially fortunate in foreign sources for its history. From the time of Vasco da Gama's arrival, and the Portuguese settlement at Cochin, there has been a large mass of official and non-official records in European languages dealing with social and political conditions in Malabar. The Dutch sources are particularly valuable, and have been left practically untapped by students of South Indian history. They vary from important state papers, a great mass of which has been analysed and classified in the Madras Secretariat Press List, to occasional memoranda and gossippy letters like the text of the work before us. Visscher's Letters from Malabar, whose value as a secondary document of Kerala history is considerable, has for sometime been a very rare book. Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon has rendered a distinct service to South Indian historical studies in republishing Visscher's text together with explanatory notes and criticism.

Jacobus Canter Visscher was a chaplain at Cochin between 1717—1723. He was a keen and generally unprejudiced observer, and his impression of Malabar and description of events of which he himself had direct knowledge are extremely valuable as a contemporary source. But unfortunately Visscher did not confine himself to narrating contemporary events. As he himself observes, he was moved to write on "the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, the description of their kingdom, as well as their origin and their modes of government and other similar subjects."

1 The account is culled from *The Scotsman*, Feb. 2nd, 1925.

On this rather extensive catalogue of subjects our author is necessarily a very unsafe guide. The social customs, usages, and political institutions of Malabar are so peculiar that even those who have taken special pains and devoted a life time to their study are liable to be led into serious mistakes: and Visscher, whose experience of Malabar extended only to five years of stay at the Dutch settlement, could hardly be expected to do anything more than repeat the vague notions current on these subjects among his countrymen. Nor is he particularly reliable when he describes matters affecting the Portuguese, the traditional enemies of his state. Yet, his letters are not without value to the careful student, as giving a picture of the political and social conditions of Malabar as it appeared to an educated and observant foreigner.

The value of these "Letters" was first recognised by Major Heber Drury, who was assistant Resident at the Court of Travancore in the fifties of the last century. Major Drury translated and edited the book, and the present edition is based on it. Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon who is the author of the voluminous Notes published along with the text, was a scholar of some aptitude and great application, and published in Malayalam a 'History of Cochin' in two volumes. The present volume, though called by the editor the History of Kerala, has no such pretensions, as Mr. Padmanabha Menon himself refers to it as his 'Notes on Visscher's Letters.'

The Notes and discussions which form the body of the work are of varying merit and interest. Mr. Padmanabha Menon's method of historical discussion is rather an old fashioned one and consists mainly in quoting the contradictory views of previous writers, without discussing either their reliability as historical material or the conclusions to be drawn therefrom. On every question, however unimportant, Mr. Menon makes a display of extracts from old travellers, and navigators, without arriving at any kind of a definite conclusion. For this kind of scholarship the publications of the Hakluyt Society afford ample scope, and Mr Menon seems to have depended entirely on them. Whenever he ventures on an independent conclusion, he goes astray, sometimes even in most elementary things. Thus the discussion on the origin of the word Malabar leads him to the conclusion that it is derived from Mala-varam, the valley of the hills, into which conclusion he was evidently misled by a similiarity of sounds. Malabar is a name which the Malayalis have so far refused to use for their country except in English. The indigenous population call the land Kerala, or Mala nad or Malayalam, but never either in literature or in common parlance Malavaram. The first use of the word Malabar is by Al-Beruni, and following him the Muhammadan travellers and geographers used its variants. That the suffix 'bar' of Malabar has nothing to do with 'varam' is clear from other Muhammadan geographical names like Zanzi*bar* and the Soubah of Ma'bar (constituted by Mahommed Tuglaq). The origin of the word is clearly Arabic.

Many of the Notes included in this volume are entirely unconnected with history and could by no stretch of imagination find admittance in a volume purporting to deal with the history of Kerala. Full 16 pages are devoted to the details of rice cultivation, the kind of soil required for it, the varieties now in use, and a discussion as to whether the grain was known to the Greeks—subjects which may be of interest to the student of agriculture, but are out of place in a historical work. Almost a whole chapter (34 pages) is devoted to a description of indigenous diseases, and about 12 pages are taken up with a description of the mud-banks in certain places. "Customs at deaths and coronations" take about twenty pages, and about 10 pages are devoted to a discussion as to whether animal food is permitted to the Hindus according to the Vedas.

The reader who, misled by the name, opens this "History of Kerala" to know something of the political evolution of that country, will thus be greatly disappointed. Even so far as ordinary editing is concerned, the book leaves much to be desired. Many inaccuracies of an obvious character have crept in, which do not reflect credit on the editor. The Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali is alluded to as Sir Amir Ali. The names of books cited are incorrectly put down and the spelling of places and names has no uniformity. Vasco da Gama is spelt Vasco de Gama in certain places. It is to be hoped that in the two more volumes which are promised, the editor will take greater care about these matters, and also use his discrimination in the selection of Notes likely to be useful to the historical student.

K. M. P.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF SARMAD, by KHAN SAHIB MAULAVI 'ABDUL-WALI. *JASB.*, N.S., Vol. XX, 1924, No. 3.

In this *Journal*, vol. XXXIX, Maulavi 'Abdu'l-Walî published a preliminary account of the Sûfî Saint known as Sarmad, and in vol. LII, a letter of Dârâ Shikoh to him. In this pamphlet he gives us a more detailed account of the saint. He has in fact hunted up all the authorities. Sarmad seems to have been a Jew converted to Islam, and to have become a nude ascetic and a poet with very important influence. He was a personal friend of Dârâ Shikoh and is said to have prophecied the succession of that prince to the Mughal throne at Delhi. He would clearly then come under the ban of Aurangzeb, and on enquiry, under that Emperor's orders, by orthodox divines, he was put to death for heretical opinions soon after Aurangzeb's accession in A.H. 1071 or A.D. 1661-62. He is an important poet, and his tomb in Delhi is still venerated with offerings of flowers and lighted candles. The Khan Sahib has done well to put together all that is known of him.

R. C. TEMPLE.

TWO TAMIL HYMNS FOR THE MARGAZHI FESTIVAL.

TRANSLATED BY A. BUTTERWORTH AND PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

THE two Tamil hymns which appear below have not, I believe, been previously translated into English prose, though a loose, metrical paraphrase of the first appeared in the *Viśishṭâdvaitin*, edited by A. Govindâchârya, in 1906, and Dr. G. U. Pope's *Tiruvâsagam* contains a good and close poetical version of the second. The hymns bear the titles *Tirup-pâvai* and *Tiruembâvai* respectively, and were written for the purposes of a ceremony performed by young women in the month *Mârgazhi* (December–January).

The first hymn is the work of the poetess Kôdai, better known by her religious name Âṇḍâḷ, and may be assigned to about the eighth century.[1] It is a curious medley of the devotional and familiar styles, and is raised out of the ranks of the commonplace by some natural touches, such as are only too scarce in Indian literature. Each verse ends with an invocation of Śrî as 'the Lady,' coupled with the words *êl ôr* which may be taken to be a mere refrain, although some attach a meaning to them. The hymn is supposed to be sung by a bevy of girls living in a village belonging to the caste of cowherds.

The first verse may be regarded as addressed to the Gopîs of Kṛishṇa or to the girls of the village, and in it the singers profess confidence that they will obtain Salvation.

Verses 2, 3 and 5 give the nature of the ceremony and its consequences. Verse 4 is an interjected prayer for rain addressed to Kaṇṇan, an elemental God. Verses 6 to 15 show the band of girls, bathed and ready for the ceremony, going round at dawn from house to house waking up other girls who have overslept themselves. In verse 16 the party reach the temple, which is regarded as inhabited by Kṛishṇa and his divine and semi-divine associates, and verses 16 to 23 are occupied with requests that the temple door may be opened and that Kṛishṇa will awake and appear. Verses 24 to 29 are addressed to Vishṇu in his various forms, and the last formal verse contains the name of the author of the poem.

The second of the two hymns is the work of the not inconsiderable poet Mâṇikka Vâsagar, who may be assigned to the ninth century or thereabouts. It deals with the same ceremony, but from the point of view of a Śaiva. The band of girls is presented singing in front of the temple. In the first eight verses they implore the spouse, or female counterpart, of Śiva to open the temple door and the God to awake. The professional devotees of Śiva are also asked to show favour to the suppliants. Verse 9 describes the sort of husbands the girls want. Verse 10 is in part addressed to the dancing-girls attached to the temple. Verses 11 to 14 are descriptive of the bathing in the sacred tank. Verse 15 contains a reference to an ancient female devotee of Śiva, known 'as the Mother of Kâraikâl,' whose legend is given in Dr. Pope's *Tiruvâśagam*. Verse 16 consists of a prayer for rain and a comparison between the appearance of the goddess and the accompaniments of the monsoon storms. Verses 17 and 18 are eulogistic of the God. Verse 19 is a prayer for pious hearts and husbands. Verse 20 is the final cry of adoration. The poem is somewhat obscure in parts.—A.B.[2]

Hymn (1).

1. In the month of Mârgaḷi, on the auspicious day of the full moon,[3]
O ye the bejewelled ones, come those of you who wish it, let us go and bathe.[4]
O ye, the dear young maidens of the prosperous herdsman's village,
He, the son of Nandagôpan who doth stern deeds with his lance,[5]

[1] There is no direct evidence in the works of Âṇḍaḷ for her date. It depends upon that of Periyâḷvâr. The historical reference to a Pâṇḍya Têr-Maran Vallabhadeva will have to settle it.

[2] Attention is invited to a supplementary note of mine at the end. The following notes are intended to elucidate points about which some ambiguity is possible—ED.

[3] The expression *madiniyrainda nannāḷ*—literally, the good day when the moon is full.

[4] The second word in the line means—those who wish to go and bathe ; the last term is vocative.

[5] The sharp spear is that of the father Nanda, and not of the son Krishṇa.

He, the lion whelp of Yaśôdai of the long and beauteous eyes,
He, dark as a cloud, fiery-eyed, with countenance effulgent with the lustre of sun and moon,[6]
That Nârâyaṇan Himself, shall upon us bestow "Service unto Him";[7]
Come, let us go to bathe that the world may praise us.[8] Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

2. O ye who dwell prosperously on earth, hark ye the ceremonies
Which we perform for our Lady. After hymning
The Supreme who within the sea of milk softly slumbereth,
We will not take ghee, we will not take milk. After bathing at dawn,
We will not paint our eyes (with collyrium), we will not bind our hair with flowers.
Things not meet to be done we will not do. We will not go astray to talk evil of others.
Charity and alms we will tender to the utmost of our ability,
And take joy in meditating upon the Way of Life. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

3. If, chanting the name of the Best who towered aloft and measured the earth
And in the name of our Lady, we do bathe,[9]
Without fail over all the land thrice a month the showers will fall;
In the midst of the tall, big, tawny rice the carp will leap;
In the opening buds of the blooming *kuvaḷai* the mottled bees will sleep;
From the great cows of generous yield we shall receive milk in potfuls,[10]
When their dripping teats are pressed by tireless hands;
Unending prosperity we shall be endowed with. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

4. O Kaṇṇa (Krishṇa) controlling clouds charged with heavy rain, abate not in your generosity.
Let the rain-cloud plunge into the Deep, suck and drink up and rise again,
Grow dark of body as the form of the Primal First,
Like the war-quoit in the hand of broad-shouldered Paṛpanâban (Padmanâbha)
Flash, like his right-handed-conch reverberate,
Like the rain of arrows unceasingly discharged by the Śârṇgam (the bow of Vishṇu),
Pour down upon the earth and make it prosper. We, too,
Shall rejoice in the Mârgaḷi bath. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

5. The Great Enchanter, the son of abiding northern Madura,
The Lord of the pure, great waters of the Yamunai ghât,
The jewelled lamp which shed lustre on the herdsmen's caste,
Dâmôdaran, who illumined his mother's womb,
Him, if we in purity approach and worship with scattering of pure blossoms,
If we unto Him sing with the mouth and upon Him meditate with the mind,
Sins already committed and those to which the roads of entry lie open
Will verily be as cotton in fire. Do ye therefore recite His name. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

---

6 The face had the brilliance of the sun, and the pleasant light of the moon.

7 The word *parai* is not here the drum. It is a derivative meaning from the original "announcement by beat of drum", here promise of salvation, or whatever else may be desired by the devotee.

8 The idea underlying the whole is that the bathing and worship of the image of the goddess is intended as a prayer for rain. In the guise of celebrating this festival the young maidens of the cowherd settlement pray for the attainment of the company of Krishna. This old festival is a device, by which the authoress exhibits her devotion to Krishna and enjoys in imagination the company of, and service to, God.

9 The word Śāṟṟi implies giving the name of the Supreme to the image as an excuse, and has the sense of reciting the holy scriptures on festivals as the finishing ceremony. "Dedicate" would perhaps come nearest in sense.

10 The first two words of line 6 have to be construed with drawing milk.

6. Hark how the birds chirp ! Heard ye not the roar,
In the temple of the king[11] of birds (Garuḍa the carrier of Vishṇu), of the white summoning conch ?
Child, wake up ! Holding in their hearts Him
Who drank the poison from the Demon's breast,
Whose foot aloft the guileful Śagaḍam (Cart) all shattered sent,
Who, the Primal Cause of all, doth lie tranquil on the serpent in the flood,
Him, the gently awakening sages [12] and devotees call 'Hari' ;
The pleasing sound of this great name was balm unto our hearts. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

7. Deluded girl, [13] do you not hear everywhere
The chirping cries of *Ânaich-châttan* (the lark), sounding in all their mingled notes ?
Do not you hear the rustling of the clotted milk
Swished about by fragrant-haired dairymaids with tireless arms,
As they churn to the jingle of the coins and gold on their necks ?
O queen of maids ! hearing them sing of Nârâyaṇa
In the form of Kêśava, would you still lie in bed ?
Open the door, you of divine radiance. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

8. The eastern sky whitens and, look, loosened for a spell,[14]
Buffaloes have scattered to graze. Girls eager to go,
We keep them from going and wait here,
Becuase we have come to call you. Wake up dear young[15] lady,
Dearest to Him. Singing and serving,
If we but go to worship the great God of Gods
Who ripped the steed's mouth and wrecked the Strong Ones,
Pitying, His grace He will give. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

9. O daughter of my mother's brother slumbering upon cushions
In the mansion fairly bejewelled, where lamps burn around
And smoke smells sweet, draw back the bolt of the bejewelled door.
Aunt, has dumbness indeed fallen on your daughter,
Or deafness or drowsiness, or is she under a spell of deep, enchanted sleep ?
Will ye not wake her up with the names "Great Mâyan", "Mâdavan", "Vaikunṭhan", Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

10. O you, Madam, who seek to enter Heaven through service !
Should not those who will not open their portals at least give an answer ?
Has that Kumbakarṇan, who one day of old
Fell into the mouth of Death, bestowed on you his own prolonged slumbers,
Vanquished though he was ? That Nârâyaṇan, who is crowned with scented basil,
Will to us the Message send, if we but worship Him.
O you exceedingly drowsy person, O you precious jewel !
With unfaltering steps come and open to us. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

---

11 It is not the Bird that is King, but it is the King whom the Bird serves.

12 The sages hold Him in their hearts and utter the name Hari in consequence. The sound of this utteranco, going into our ears, relieves our pain and gives us pleasure eternal. The word Hari must be uttered three times as one gets up from bed in the early morning.

13 The literal meaning is a girl possessed, but the feeling is one of pity, not of anger or disgust.

14 *Śiṛu Vîḍu* means literally 'letting out for a short while,' and refers to the habit of sending out buffaloes for early grass.

15 *Kôdûkula*, Sans. *Kutûhala*, eager joy ; joy in being acceptable to him.

11. O golden tendril among the blameless herdsmen
Who milk many herds of cows with calf at foot,
And march to war upon foes whose valour perishes in the fight!
O you whose Mount of Desire is (shaped like the hood of) the snake from the anthill,
O peafowl of the dry-waste! come out.
When all the girl-friends of the tribe have come,
And in your courtyard are singing the name of Him whose colour is that of the cloud,
What means it that you, the cherished wife,
Unmoving and speechless sleep on? Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

12. O dear young sister of the rich man, whose bellowing buffalo with young calf,
Her longing thoughts fixed on the calf, stands with trickling udder and the oozing milk
Wets the house floor and turns it into mud.
We cling to your outer gate, our heads wet with dew,
Singing of Him, dear to our hearts, who in wrath destroyed
The king of yon southern Ilangai; even so you open not your lips.
And now at least arise. How deep your sleep has been!
And those who live around are awake. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

13. All the girls, singing the fame of Him
Who tore the bird's mouth, who crushed the heads of, and destroyed, the evil-doing
Râkṣasa (Râvaṇa),
Have reached the place where the images are set up.
Venus has risen and Jupiter has gone to rest;
Listen how the birds sing, you whose eyes are like the bee in the bud.
Joining us not in the cool water,
Will you still be lying abed, my lady dear? On this holy day
Have done with your tricky ways, Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

14. In the pond amid the garden in your backyard
The red water-lily has opened its mouth, and the *âmbal* has begun to close.
Even the penitents, with their teeth clear white,[16] their garments coloured red with ochre,
Are going to do worship in their holy temple.
Ah, you madam, who promised to wake us first,
Ah, you shameless one so ready with words, get up.
Let us sing to the Lotus-eyed who with stout hands
Upholds the conch-shell and the war-quoit. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

15. "Oho, young parrot, are you still asleep?"
"Oh do not scream so, girls, I am coming."
"Sly one!, we know your promises and talk of old."
"You are good at talk yourselves; let me be that."
"Be quick and come, what else have you to do?"
"Have all come?" "Yes, come and yourself count,"
"They have all come to sing of Him who killed the strong elephant, who is strong
To overthrow and destroy His foes, the Great Enchanter." Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

16. O guardian of the mansion of Nandagôpan, our liege-lord,
O guardian of the festooned portico under the flagstaff,
Draw back the bolt of the bejewelled door.

16 This expression refers to the habitually white teeth of the mendicant celebates, as opposed to other men whose teeth require to be cleaned because of the use of betel, etc. Mendicants are forbidden the use of this. Hence the name *bhadanta* for certain classes of these from this peculiarity.

To us, the neatherds' maidens, even yesterday
The Great Enchanter of sapphire blue gave us promise of the message.
And so, all pure, have we come to sing the Awakening.
Spoil not all with a word of refusal at the very beginning, dear one. Do thou
Draw back the friendly door from the post. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

17. O Thou who dost bestow freely in charity, clothing, water, rice,
Our Prince Nandagôpâlan, rise thou up.
O thou, the loveliest amongst all the lovely ones, lamp of thy caste,
Our Princess Yaśôdây, return to consciousness.
O Thou who, towering aloft, pierced the sky and measured the earth,
King of the gods, slumber not but rise Thou up.
O Blessed One, O Baladêva, with feet encircled with anklets of ruddy gold,
Thou and Thy younger brother too, sleep ye not. [Êl] Ôr, Our Lady.

18. O Nappinnây, daughter-in-law of Nandagôpâlan,
The rider of the bull-elephant in full *mast*, the dauntless, strong-shouldered one ;
O Lady of the fragrant-smelling hair ; open the portal.
Hark how the assembled cocks are crowing.
Hark, the flocks of cuckoos have more than once, on the bowers of *mâdavi*, called.
O Thou with finger-tips deft at holding back, while we chant the name of Thy cousin,
Come, and with red-lotus hand, thy golden bracelets all tinkling,
Joyfully open. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

19. Upon the bed supported on elephants' tusks and all ablaze with lamps,
Raised aloft on the soft, five-fold couch,
Reclining on the bosom of Nappinnai whose hair is twined with flowers,
O Thou broad-chested One, open Thy mouth.
And Thou with the large, black eyes !
Lo, how long hast Thou refused to let Thy husband arise from sleep ?
If, even for a moment, Thou art not able to bear separation,
Surely such conduct is not in keeping with your nature or your feelings. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

20. O Strong One ! who, standing before the three and thirty Immortals,
Removest their fear,[17] arise from sleep.
Possessed of righteousness, possessed of courage, O Holy One
Who visitest Thy foes with affliction, arise from sleep.
And Thou with soft rounded breast, red lips and small waist,
O Lady Nappinnai, O Tiru (Śrî), arise from sleep,
And bringing fan and mirror [18], this instant
Do Thou send us to bathe with Thy spouse. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

21. O Son of him who is owner of herds of great, generous kine
Which pour out milk unceasingly, so that the copious yield
Doth make the upheld pots brim over, wake up ;
O Thou, the wise One, the great One ;
O Brilliant One, who standeth conspicuous in the world ; arise from sleep.
Just as Thy foes, their strength all perished, unable to endure Thy valour,

17 *Kappam* is here Sans. *kampa* = shaking through fear, hardened for euphony.
18 These are auspicious articles presented at awakening.

Come to Thy threshold and adore Thy foot,
So have we come, praising and glorifying. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

22. Like as kings of the fair, great earth, losing all their pride,
Come and, beneath thy couch of rest,
Assemble in crowds, so we approach Thee and await Thy Grace.
And, like lotus-blossoms, forming mouths of bells
Will not Thy red eyes open on us in ever so slight a glance of Grace ?
If on us should light the full glance of those two beauteous eyes,
Like the very moon and sun arising,
The curse of life would for ever slip from off us. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

23. As in a cavern of the deadly mountains a glorious lion,
Lying motionless and asleep, waketh up and glareth like fire,
Then with bristling mane, convulsed and quivering,
Riseth in his might, roareth and issueth forth,
So do Thou whose colour is that of the *Pûvai* flower,
From Thy palace graciously come forth, and from Thy seat on the splendid,
Glorious throne graciously ask the cause
Of our coming. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

24. Of yore Thou didst measure out the world ; praise to Thy foot.
Passing over yonder to the South, Thou didst destroy Ilangai ; praise to Thy prowess.
The *Śagaḍam* Thou didst spurn to death ; praise to Thy glory.
The calf Thou didst throw as from a sling, praise to Thine anklet.
The hill Thou didst lift like an umbrella, praise to Thine Excellence.
Praise to the spear in Thine hand, which by overcoming destroyeth hatred.
Repeatedly in such words extolling service unto Thee, to win Thy Grace
To-day have we come. Have pity. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

25. Thou wast born one night the son of one matchless woman,
The selfsame night didst Thou grow concealed as the son of another.
Intolerant of this, Kaṁsa did harbour evil thought,
Setting the which at naught, Thou didst lie in his belly
A consuming flame, O lofty *Mâl* !
Praying to Thee and begging have we come; if Thou but grant one wish,
Singing of Thy wealth, worthy of Śrî, and of Thy valour,
All our suffering past, we shall rejoice. El Ôr, Our Lady.

26. O Thou in colour like the dark jewel, if Thou wilt hear
What the ancients did and what we need for the Mârgaḷi bathing ;
Conches which resemble the *Pânchajanyam*, milk-like in hue,
Whose sounds make the whole earth shake ;
A multitude of great drums, known for resounding din ;
Chanters of benedictions ; beauteous lamp ; flag ; canopy ;
O Thou who didst sleep in the banyan leaf,
[These things] graciously grant. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

27. O good Gôvindâ who overcomest Thine enemies,
Thyself praised and the boon obtained,
The rewards are these most approved of the world ;
Bracelet, armlet, earrings, flowers for the ear,

Anklet and many other like jewels ; these will we wear ;
Clothes we will put on. After that, pouring ghee
On outspread rice cooked in milk until it runs over the elbow,
We will, with delight, take our food with Thee. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

28. Following the milch cows, we reach the woods and eat our meal.
How great is the blessing we enjoy in owning Thee Thyself
As born within our caste of neatherds ignorant of all.
O sinless Gôvindâ, betwixt Thee and us
Be kinship, which never here can be cast off.
If, as children knowing naught, and in love of Thee,
We little folk have called Thee by unworthy names, chide us not.
Lord Paramount, grant Thou the Boon (of salvation). Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

29. Listen unto the reason why, coming in the very early morning,
We minister unto Thee and worship Thy golden-lotus foot.
Born in a caste which liveth by grazing kine,
That Thou shouldst accept us in service is not our present prayer.
Lo, Gôvindâ, it is to gain this our eager desire (that we come),
That for ever, for seven times seven births, shall we be Thy kinsfolk ;
To Thee will we render service, to none else but Thee.
Our desires, to aught else do Thou not transform. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

30. How richly bedecked women, fair of face as the moon, went and worshipped
Mâdhavan-Kêśavan who churned the sea, whose surface is covered with ships,
And obtained of Him the promise, Kôdai of fair Puduvai,
The daughter of the Chief of Brahmans who wear the cool garland of beautiful lotuses,
Set in a garland of verse three times ten [to be sung in choir].[19]
Those here who sing in faultless form,
By Grace of *Mâl*, rich in love, with broad and shapely shoulders,
Red eyes of gracious look and face benign,
Everywhere shall enjoy His bounty and live in happiness. Our Lady.

(*To be continued*).

19 The text has the word *śangam* used attributively to Tamil, and ordinarily would mean language acceptable to the "Tamil Academy." The Commentator takes it in the sense of 'intended to be sung in chorus,' which seems rather uncommon.—ED.

THE MUTINY AT INDORE.

(Some Unpublished Records.)

BY H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

(Continued from page 152.)

No. 995 of 1857.

Secret Department.

From H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.

To Captain T. Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

Dated 25th July 1857.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with enclosure, dated the 20th instant, No. 443, reporting on the state of affairs in your neighbourhood, and to convey to you the thanks of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

2. Copies of your letter and of its enclosures have been forwarded for the information of the Government of India.

I have etc.,
(Signed) H. L. Anderson,
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 25th July 1857.

No. 3173.

Foreign Department.

From R. Simson, Esq., Offg. Under-Secretary to the Government of India.

To Captain T. Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

Dated Fort William, 10th August 1857.

Sir,

With reference to your letter to the address of the Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated the 20th ultimo, No. 442, regarding the preservation of the bazaar and station of Mhow from pillage, owing to the exertions of Gokul Pursad Kotwal and Captain McMullen, Offg. Cantonment Joint Magistrate, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to communicate to you, as well as to Captain McMullen, the thanks of the Government for your exertions in preserving order in Mhow. I am desired also to request that you will present to Gokul Pursad a sword, with a bag of Rs. 500, in token of approbation of Government.

I have etc.,
(Signed) R. Simson,
Offg. Under-Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Fort William, 10th August 1857.

No. 3183.

Foreign Department.

From R. Simson, Esq., Offg. Under Secretary to Govt. of India.

To Captain T. Hungerford, Artillery, Commanding at Mhow.

Dated Fort William, 10th August, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters No. 438 and 439, dated 17th ultimo, containing a detailed account of the late occurrences at Indore and Mhow, and reporting that, having been left at Mhow without any political officer to consult, you had assumed political authority to communicate with Holkar.

2. In reply, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to state that your conduct calls for commendation. In a position of much difficulty and uncertainty, you have discharged the duties which fell to you with excellent judgment.

3. His Lordship in Council appreciates the courage with which you assumed responsibility that was new to you, as well as the tact and discretion which secured a generally successful result to your proceedings.

I have etc.,
(Signed) R. Simson,
Offg. Under-Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Fort William, 10th August, 1857.

No. 941.

Adjutant-General's Office, Head-Quarters.
Calcutta, 12th October 1857.

SIR,

I have the honour, by direction of the Commander-in-chief, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 641, of the 20th ultimo, with copies of documents enclosed therein, and to express the satisfaction with which His Excellency views the judgment and decision which have marked your conduct, and so deservedly called forth the recorded approbation both of the Government of India and that of Bombay, in which Sir Colin Campbell very cordially concurs.

I have etc.,
(Signed) W. Mayhew, Major,
Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

Captain Hungerford, Bengal Artillery, Mhow.

No. 114-A.

To Captain T. Hungerford,
Comg. 2nd Com. 6th Battalion Bengal Artillery, and No. 8 Light Field Battery, Mhow.
Camp, Cawnpore, 12th February 1858.
Office of Assistant Adjutant-General, Artillery.

SIR,

I have had the honour to receive and lay before the Major-General commanding the regiment your letters Nos. 486 and 487 of the 8th ultimo, with their several enclosures: the former relative to the outbreak of the native troops of the Bengal army at Mhow, and those of the Maharaja at Indore in July last, and the measures you took in consequence; the latter detailing the part taken by the battery under your command in the operations against the Fort of Dhar in October last.

2. Sir Archdale Wilson, in reply, has directed me to inform you that he has perused these documents with pride and pleasure, testifying as they do to the judgment and determination with which you took upon yourself and exercised at a very critical period, the political functions of the Resident at Holkar's Court, and the vigour and professional ability with which your conduct was marked in the exercise of the military command at Mhow, and he trusts that the services you rendered to the State, of which such important results were the consequence, will meet with their just and appropriate reward.

3. It is a subject also of much pride and gratification to the Major-General to find how honourably the name and reputation of the regiment has been sustained by the company and battery under your command, under the very trying circumstances in which you have been placed; and he desires you will communicate these sentiments to all concerned, and

especially to Lieutenant Mallock and to Serjeants Potter and French, and to assure them of his cordial appreciation of their admirable conduct and good services.

I have etc.,

(Signed) E. B. Johnson,

Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery.

No. 438.

The Secretary to Government, Bengal.

Mhow Fort, 17th July 1857.

Sir,

Details of the occurrences at Indore and Mhow, written hurriedly, have been sent at different times to the Bombay Government, for transmission to you. I beg now to send a more connected account for your information.

1. When the news of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi reached Mhow, I requested permission from the commanding officer, Colonel Platt, to place a guard from my European Company of Artillery at the Fort gateway, instead of the guard of the 23rd Regt. N. I. The Fort contained many heavy guns, much ammunition, and valuable stores of various kinds, which, falling into the hands of mutineers, would have much strengthened them. Colonel Platt considered that the change of guards would show a want of confidence in his own men, and would not permit it; but I was authorised to dismount and disable the heavy guns.

2. On the news of the Neemuch mutiny reaching Mhow, I wrote to the commanding officer a letter, dated June 6th, 1857. My guns were then in their sheds, 200 yards from the barracks, and the men could not have turned out in battery under half an hour. A portion of my letter is as follows :—

" One hundred men, placing themselves in front of the gun-sheds armed, would deprive the company of its means of offence and defence.

" Precautionary measures have been taken, in almost all stations of the army, to prevent an outbreak of the native troops, although the latter were perfectly loyal. The Commanding officer appears to think that precautions taken here may lead to the result it is desirous to avoid. With my battery at command, and guarded from sudden seizure, I believe that I could quell and crush any disturbance that might arise at Mhow from the native troops; and I request, therefore, that I may be permitted to take such precautions (by having my battery drawn out on open ground, where it can easily be manned) as may render my guns ready for action when required. Should the commanding officer deem any precautions inadvisable, such as I have suggested, and should it be my misfortune, in the event of any disturbance occurring, to meet with difficulty in arming and turning out my battery, I trust that this letter will be convincing proof that I have used every endeavour to avoid such a result."

3. I was directed, in reply to this letter, to draw out my battery in front of the gun-sheds on Monday morning the 8th June (two days after the above letter was written); but instead of waiting until Monday morning, an opportunity offered for turning out on the 6th. The horses were harnessed, guns turned out, and the battery and company made ready for service at a moment's notice.

4. On the 8th June I received a letter from Colonel Durand, Acting Resident at Indore, which contained the following :—" You and your men cannot be too much on the alert. Your readiness with your horses, the day the Neemuch news reached cantonments, prevented a rise."

5. From the 6th June to the end of the month my battery was parked in front of the barracks; the horses stood harnessed every night; the men were warned never to be distant from the barracks; and, in the event of any rise at Mhow, the battery could have turned out to crush it in less than a quarter of an hour, night or day.

6. Many applications were made to the commanding officer for some precautions to be taken for the safety of the wives and families of officers and men; but Colonel Platt placed such implicit confidence in his men, that nothing was done beyond placing a guard of Sepoys of the 23rd Regiment N. I., every night, over the houses of the officers of that regiment.

7. On the morning of the 1st July, about half-past 8 or 9, guns were heard firing in the direction of Indore ; at 11 a.m. Colonel Platt called at my house with a note from Colonel Durand. Colonel Durand wrote :—

" Send the European battery as sharp as you can. We are attacked by Holkar."

I rode down to the barracks and turned out the battery, escort was ordered to accompany the battery for its defence ; two men were therefore told off for each gun and waggon, and mounted on the limber boxes, armed with muskets. The battery was trotted to Rhow, half way to Indore. There a Sowar rode up to me with a note in pencil from Colonel Travers, commanding the Bhopal Contingent, saying " We are retreating on Simrole, on the Mundlaysir road from Indore."

The Sowar added that Colonel Durand and the officers and ladies from the Residency were with Colonel Travers, that Colonel Durand had not retired on Mhow, as Mhow was in Holkar's territories, and would be attacked by Holkar's troops either that night or the following morning. There being no road to Simrole which I could follow, the battery was brought back to Mhow as quickly as possible.

8. Colonel Platt met me on re-entering cantonments. I gave him Colonel Travers' note, and told him what the Sowar had said, requesting permission at the same time to take my battery into the Fort, as the Fort could be defended for any length of time. Colonel Platt would not hear of it. At the artillery barracks all the wives and families of officers and and men had taken refuge. The barracks could not be well defended, from their extent and position. I urged repeatedly on Colonel Platt, during the afternoon, the advisability of defending the Fort ; but only at the very last moment could he be persuaded to allow me to enter it. At half-past 6 p.m. Colonel Platt rode down to the artillery barracks, and told me to enter the Fort. He had strengthened the guard at the gateway to fifty men from his own regiment.

9. I afterwards learnt that, about 6 p.m., Sepoys had been sent round to all the cantonment guards to warn them, and the guards at officers' houses, that there would be a rise of the whole of the troops that night.

10. At dusk, the mess-house of the 23rd Regiment N. I. was observed to be on fire; and before 10 p.m. several other houses were in flames. About 10 p.m. shots were heard in the direction of the cavalry and infantry lines ; and immediately afterwards several officers of both corps ran into the Fort, stating that both regiments were in open mutiny, and that they had been fired upon both by troopers and Sepoys. I ordered the guard within the Fort to be disarmed, and their muskets were taken from them. Colonel Platt rode into the Fort about 10 p.m., and ordered me to turn out my battery. There was a little delay in doing this, from the horses being knocked up, and from several of the drivers having already deserted ; and before we were ready, Colonel Platt, accompanied by his Adjutant (Captain Fagan), rode out of the Fort. We followed them in about ten minutes; but did not see them again. On advancing up the infantry parade (the lines being more than half a mile from the Fort) we were several times fired upon, but saw no one. The infantry parade ground was illuminated by the blazing bungalows, but the huts of the men were in darkness, When opposite the centre of the infantry lines I halted, expecting to be joined by Colonel Platt or his Adjutant. My staff serjeant, bugler, and myself rode up to the bells of arms, but no one could be seen. Whilst thus halted the battery was again fired upon. I unlimbered, and fired several rounds of grape and round shot into the lines. There was some groaning and noise, but nothing visible; and in a few minutes everything was perfectly quiet,

11. I was told the next day that, on my opening fire the whole of the cavalry, in regular files, had left their lines at a hard trot, and taken the road to Indore. The infantry who were in their lines took to flight at the second round of grape, and, running out by the rear of their lines, fled in the greatest disorder across country towards Indore. The next day their lines were found full of their clothes, cooking-vessels, etc., and many muskets, coats, etc., were found scattered for a great distance all over the country.

12. Colonel Platt and Captain Fagan, I learnt, had ridden straight to the quarter guard of the regiment, and, whilst the Colonel was there speaking to the men, the guard fired a volley at the unfortunate officers, and they fell riddled with ball. A party of troopers was told off to murder Major Harris of the 1st Light Cavalry, who waylaid him near the cavalry mess. A volley was fired, which killed his horse; and Major Harris, in attempting to escape, was shot and cut down by his own men.

13. In mentioning the deaths of these officers, I cannot help expressing my deep sorrow at the infatuation which possessed Colonel Platt with regard to his own men. Nothing could persuade him to believe that they could act as their comrades all over the country have acted. Numerous circumstances occurred before the regiment mutinied, which should have warned him against over-confidence; but when reported, they were all thought to be exaggerated, and he would not believe that his men could show signs of disaffection. So blindly confident was he of their fidelity that at 9 o'clock on the night the mutiny took place, he commenced a note to Colonel Durand in these words:—" All right; both cavalry and infantry very 'khoosh' and willing." Whilst writing he was interrupted and called away, to be shot down by the very men regarding whom he was so lamentably mistaken.

14. Several of the officers had very narrow escapes ; the cavalry more particularly, as their lines were furthest from the Fort, and they had to run the gauntlet of the Sepoys after escaping from their own men. Captain Brooks, Lieutenants Martin and Chapman, ran on foot, pursued by troopers, to within a few hundred yards of the Fort, and were drawn into the Fort over the walls of one of the bastions. Had the ladies remained in their own houses, instead of taking refuge in the Fort, the massacre would probably have been as dreadful as at Indore.

15. On the morning of the 2nd July we became acquainted with the lamentable deaths of the three officers before mentioned. All the officers who had escaped voluntarily offered their services to me as commanding the only troops in the Fort, to be put on any duties I might think necessary. They were all armed and horsed, and divided into two divisions, with all the other Europeans in the Fort (road serjeants, clerks, etc.) and placed under the command of Captain Brooks, 1st Light Cavalry, and Captain Trower, 23rd Regiment N. I., to act as flanking parties to the guns when necesssary, to move out of the Fort, and to assist in sentry duties at night. Parties of artillery-men were employed the first thing in the morning to throw up entrenchments before the northern gate of the Fort, to mount the heavy guns and howitzers on their carriages, and to place light guns on the four corner bastions. Men hard at work all day. Mr. Postance, the Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, employed in making up ammunition for the heavy guns ; and Mr. Madras, the commissariat officer, in laying in stores of all descriptions for men and horses. During the night, the whole of the driver company, with the exception of five men, all the lascars, all the syces but eight, and the whole of the grass-cutters, deserted. All the artificers but three also made their escape from the Fort. A detachment, consisting of two guns, ridden by gunners (Europeans) and escorted by volunteers, was sent out under Captain Brooks to search for the bodies of the missing officers. Their bodies were brought in before noon, much mutilated; and they were buried in the afternoon, in the south-east bastion of the Fort. (Report sent in, Marked A.)

16. *3rd July.*—Proclaimed martial law this morning throughout the station of Mhow. Parties of troopers and Sepoys having been reported as still in their lines and harbouring in the villages in the vicinity, I moved out two guns escorted by volunteers. We first marched through the Sudder Bazar, recovered a large quantity of muskets from the Kotwallee, and disarmed those men not belonging to the police. Then went to the cavalry lines. Several troopers were seen skulking about the lines, and two cavalry horses saddled broke out of a neighbouring village, and galloped past the guns. The troopers were driven out and followed by several officers; they ran down to the nullah in rear of their lines, and then turned and fired. Corporal Potter, of the Artillery, cut one man down. Fired the village in rear of the cavalry lines from whence the horses broke out; fired another village in rear of the infantry lines, in which, and in the lines, several Sepoys were seen. As many more were supposed to be hidden in the houses, fired several round shot into the lines. Wrote this day to the Maharaja (letter B), as it was reported to me that Holkar's troops, accompanied by the mutineers from Mhow, meant to attack the Fort. By the evening of the 3rd July two light guns were mounted on each of the four corner bastions of the Fort. A heavy battery of one 10 inch howitzer, one 8 inch howitzer, one 24 pounder, one 18 pounder, and two 12 pounders, was formed and armed outside the northern gate of the Fort. Small arms and ammunition were placed in the bastions, and every preparation made to repulse any attack made by Holkar or any portion of his army. Men and officers worked unceasingly and uncomplainingly. By this evening, too, Mr. Madras had laid in stores for a fortnight.

17. As the magazines of the cavalry and infantry regiments were full of ammunition, and might fall into the hands of enemies, a party was turned out on the 4th under Captain Brooks, 1st Light Cavalry, the guns under Lieutenant Mallock, Artillery, to blow them both up; both magazines were blown up successfully. A hole was blown through the southern curtain of the Fort, and preparations made to arm another battery for the protection of that side of the Fort. (Report sent in to the Adjutant-General of the Bombay Army, marked C.)

18. On the morning of the 5th another heavy battery of four 18 pounders was placed in position to protect the southern face of the Fort. About 10 a.m. two of Holkar's principal men, his minister the Bhao Rao Ramchunder, and his Buxee Khooman Sing, accompanied by Captain Fenwick, an East Indian in the service of the Maharaja, came to the Fort with a letter from the Maharaja (marked C 2). They stated the Maharaja had been quite unable to control his mutinous troops and expressed on his part deep regret at the occurrences at Indore, a detailed account of which was handed to me by Captain Fenwick. They offered also to send over the remaining treasure from the Residency to Mhow, and were prepared to carry out any measures I might advise for opening up communication through and tranquillizing the country. The minister also stated that the mutinous troops from Mhow and Indore had marched the preceding evening towards Dewas, having carried off with them nine (9) lacs of rupees from the Residency treasury, and having seized at Indore every horse, bullock, camel, and cart that they could find for the transport of their baggage. They had taken also with them nine guns belonging to the Maharaja. By evening of the 5th Mr. Madras had laid in stores of all kinds for one month. The station was perfectly quiet; the inhabitants of the Bazaars carrying on business as usual; burning and thieving in Bungalows put a stop to; and night alarms at an end. On the night of the 5th thirteen elephants were sent in by Holkar for the use of General Woodburn's column, and forwarded at once to Mundlaysir.

19. On the morning of the 6th July a general court-martial was assembled, for the trial of a gun lascar of my company for mutiny and desertion. The prisoner was sentenced to fifty lashes, but the punishment was commuted to dismissal. The troops from Indore who accompanied the mutineers from Mhow, not being allowed to share in the treasure, returned to Indore last night, and, having received some assistance from Holkar, marched immediately in pursuit to try and recover the treasure.

20. An express was sent on the morning of the 7th to Colonel Durand. Captain Hutchinson, Assistant to the Resident, was reported on the morning of this day to have been taken prisoner by the Amjheera Raja. Captain Elliot was written to by the Durbar on the subject, and the correspondence is annexed (marked D.). The Maharaja was written to this day; and a request made that he would follow up and attack the mutineers from Mhow and Indore (letter marked E.). Another gun lascar was brought in this morning, tried by court martial for mutiny and desertion, sentenced to death, and hanged by my orders in front of the northern gate of the Fort at 6 p.m. Whilst the execution was taking place, the whole of the treasure remaining in the Residency treasury, sent in by the Maharaja, arrived in the Fort, and Captain Elliot was ordered to receive charge of it. The amount of treasure is Rs. 4,16,690, besides nearly 23½ lacs in Company's paper. The country round Mhow perfectly tranquil.

21. On the morning of the 8th a letter (No. 428) was forwarded to the Secretary, Bombay Government, detailing what had occurred, forwarding correspondence with the Durbar, and reporting receipt of treasure. A memo. was also forwarded of the persons murdered at Indore (this letter is attached). On the 8th July a correspondence took place with the Durbar regarding the Malwah Contingent, and it will be found attached to letter 431. A telegraph message was received this day from the Governor of Bombay (attached, Marked F.).

22. On the 9th two messages were despatched to Bombay regarding the troops marching on Mundlaysir under Captain Orr (marked G.). Two prisoners, Sepoys of the 23rd Regiment N. I. (Mahomedans), were sent in by the Maharaja of Indore. They were tried by drum-head court martial on arrival at Mhow, sentenced to death, and hanged in front of the northern gate of the Fort. Much excitement had prevailed amongst the Maharaja's troops on his giving over these prisoners, and an anonymous letter was found in his Durbar Hall, accusing him of not being a Hindoo, and being under the influence of ministers who were Christians.

23. Letter No. 431 (attached) written to Secretary, Bombay Government, on the 10th. Everything perfectly tranquil at Mhow and its neighbourhood. Telegraph message received from Bombay regarding Captain Orr's detachment (Marked H).

24. Oomed Sing and Ganesh Shastree came in from the Maharaja, to say that the latter was in great alarm about the two columns advancing from Bombay: he feared that his actions had been misconstrued, and an erroneous impression of them conveyed to Government. It was with great difficulty that they had prevented the Maharaja from starting immediately for Bombay to offer in person an explanation of the disturbances at Indore. Wrote to the Maharaja a letter (annexed, marked I). Breastworks were completed in front of both heavy batteries this day, and the Fort so much strengthened that it would take a native army to attack it.

25. On the 12th an express was again forwarded to Colonel Durand (marked K). On the 13th the telegraph wire was brought into the Fort at Mhow, an office established, and communication opened with Bombay. Dak communications to Bombay, and all places to the southward, open; also to Neemuch; but the road to Sehore and Saugor has been and continues closed from the 27th ultimo. The Durbar report that their troops are still mutinous and excited, and they look with anxiety for the arrival of European troops, to enable them to disarm the disaffected. On the 13th a telegraph message was received from Lord Elphinstone, for delivery to Holkar (marked L), and an answer returned on the 14th (marked M). A report also was forwarded to Bombay on the 14th.

26. I have, in the foregoing, brought up my report of everything that has taken place at Mhow to this date (15th July). Troops are marching to our relief, whom we expect to see on the 26th instant. Colonel Durand has been written to, and may probably return to Mhow immediately. The country is perfectly quiet, the Maharaja of Indore most anxious for opportunities to prove his friendship and fidelity to the Government. This Fort is strengthened and provisioned in such manner as to enable us to hold it for any length of time

against any native force ; trade and business are carried on as usual in the towns in Holkar's States. The Maharaja's tributaries having discovered the mistake they first fell into, of thinking Holkar inimical to the British, have suppressed all disorders in their own districts, and are willing to assist in maintaining order. Some of the Maharaja's troops alone show a bad spirit, and are still mutinous and disaffected ; but they will, I think, be restrained from any further excess, and on the arrival of European troops the Maharaja will at once disarm and punish them.

The Company's rupee has fallen to a discount of one rupee per cent. at Indore, and three per cent. at Oojein.

27. In closing this report I trust that, should the Government deem that our duty at Mhow has been performed to its satisfaction, I may state how much I have been indebted to the untiring exertions of officers and men for everything that has been done. At this trying season the non-commissioned officers and men of my company, under the orders of Lieutenant Mallock, have worked cheerfully and laboriously night and day, in mounting heavy guns, throwing up entrenchments, and other duties, and have shown throughout a willing and ready spirit, which no praise of mine can do justice to. The officers of the 23rd Regiment N. I. and 1st Light Cavalry, and other volunteers under Captain Brooks and Captain Trower, have always been ready to turn out at any moment for duties which they have never before been accustomed to, and have taken regular sentry duties every night since our occupation of the Fort, to enable the artillery men to get some sleep after their heavy duties in the day. Mr. Madras, the Commissariat Officer, has worked most efficiently in laying in stores of every description for the artillery, Europeans who have taken refuge in the Fort, horses and cattle, for six months; and the fact that six months' supplies have been laid in, in little more than a week, will speak for itself. Mr. Conductor Postance, too, has been unwearied in his exertions in making up ammunition and other duties, which have occupied every moment of his time, and which he has fulfilled to my entire satisfaction. To Captain Elliot I am deeply indebted for support and assistance ; his knowledge of the country has enabled him to aid me with advice in many matters of which I should otherwise have remained ignorant. Besides supporting me in my communications with Holkar's Durbar, he has readily taken upon himself a share of all the duties the other officers have been employed in.

28. I trust it is needless to repeat what I have said so often regarding the fidelity of the Maharaja of Indore;—his actions will best prove his feelings. The anxiety he laboured under, lest his conduct should be misconstrued, has been dissipated since the receipt of the message from the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay; and yesterday I received the annexed letter (marked N) from the minister on this subject.

29. Having been left alone at Mhow, without any political officer to consult, I trust, if I have acted in an irregular manner, by assuming political authority to communicate with Holkar, the advantage which has been gained in keeping the country tranquil, and restoring the confidence of the Maharaja in the friendship of the Government, may form my excuse for the informality. I have acted with a zealous desire to serve Government, and trust my actions may not meet with disapproval.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

SÔMA.

BY PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL.
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

DR. VINCENT SMITH, in the *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 23, wrote as follows: "The Parsees of Yezd and Kirmân in Persia, as well as those of the Deccan and Bombay in India, who still occasionally offer Sôma sacrifices, identify the plant with one or other species of *Asclepias* . . . . But the real Sôma plant may have been different, and has not yet been clearly identified." And in a footnote he said: "Kautilya prescribes that Brâhmans shall be provided with forests for Sôma plantation (*Arthaśâstra*, Book II, ch. 2)".

Mr. E. B. Havell in an article in *JRAS.*, Feb. 1920, asked "What is Sôma;" And in the same article he suggested that it is *Eleusine*, "the common millet still used in the Himâlayas." Prof. A. A. Macdonnell seemed to support this theory.

In 1922 I published a little pamphlet in popular style, entitled *Vedic Antiquities*, in which I drew attention to the district of Malabar, which seems to have remained sheltered from the invasions and changes which are apparent in the rest of India. I said, p. 24, in speaking of that very high caste of Brâhmans, the Nambudris: "But they do not only adore the Vedic divinities and sing the Vedic hymns, they practise also pure Vedic ceremonies . . . . Those who practise the Sôma sacrifice are called Sômayagis or Chomatiris."

In acknowledging a copy of my pamphlet, Mr. Havell asked me, also speaking of the Nambudris: "What do they use for the Sôma rite?" And very appositely, Mr. Havell wrote to me with reference to the above question: "You speak of Hindus who have preserved the Vedic tradition. It is here that we have the greatest opportunity in the world of discussing the mystery of Sôma. Try then to find out exactly what it is that the Nambudris of Malabar use".

I went at once to a great temple, which is the centre of the Nambudris in the village of Taliparamba, where are the best specimens of the *agnîdrîyas*—the temples of the Vedic fire. The Nambudri Brâhmans received me very courteously. I told them that I wanted the plant which produced the Sôma. They replied: "The Sômavalli plant does not grow in these parts. It is a rare plant found in the mountains. When we want to make a sacrifice with Soma, we write to a Râja who lives at Kollangôd (ten miles south of Pâlghât) at the foot of some very high mountains, where the mystic plant grows."

For a long time I tried to obtain the sacred plant. My efforts remained abortive, till I had the happy thought of writing to a powerful official at Calicut, Mr. P. V. Gopalan. He obtained the plant from the Râja and sent it to me.

I at once showed it to a learned botanist at Pondicherry, the Rev. Brother Fancheux, who found it to be a climbing plant, having a stem—green, bare, round and woody, and containing a milky liquor. A point characteristic of this creeper is that it is absolutely without foliage. Beyond doubt, it is certainly a plant belonging to the genus *asclepias*.

Therefore, the Parsis of Yezd in Persia and the Nambudris of Malabar make their sacrifices with the same plant, an *Asclepiad*. There can thus be no doubt that the two names, *Haôma* of the Iranians and *Sôma* of the Indians, designate the same liquor. In short, it seems to me that we have here no mystery concerning the plant which is used to manufacture Sôma. It is incontestably an *Asclepiad*.

A NOTE ON BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN'S DATE.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

ON pages 220-3 of volume LIII, *ante*, Mr. K. N. Daniel had been at great pains to prove that there were two Chêra kings of the name of Bhâskara-Ravivarman, that on account of certain palæographical and linguistic reasons they should be considered to have lived almost within the same century, and that " it is unquestionably proved on astronomical grounds " that these two kings, Bhâskara-Ravi I. and Bhâskara-Ravi II., should have respectively reigned in the first and second half of the sixth century A.D.

Messrs. V. Venkayya, T. A. Gopinatha Rao and K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, however, attributed the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script of Bhâskara-Ravivarman's records to the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.; and Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, M.A., LL.B., I.S.O., of Madras, who had worked at the astronomical details furnished in a few of this king's records on this assumption, had arrived at the tentative date of A.D. 978 for his accession. He was also the first scholar to propound the theory that there may have been two kings of that name (*T.A.S.*, II, pp. 45-6); because, in his opinion, the positions of Jupiter given in some of the records were found to be irregular and could not agree uniformly with this initial date of the king. Mr. K. N. Daniel has attempted to reconcile the apparent discrepancies of these details, by assuming that " the years are sometimes age, and sometimes regnal years, and sometimes current, and sometimes expired."

However this may be, I propose to examine them in detail elsewhere. I have discovered [1] a record of king Bhâskara-Ravivarman, which fixes his date beyond the possibility of any doubt to be the end of the tenth century A.D. This inscription is found engraved on the narrow upper surface of the lowermost *upâna* of the stone base of the Adbhutanârâyaṇa temple at Tirukkaḍittâṉam (Travancore), which contains many other records of the same Chêra king. The stones composing the basement having become slightly disturbed in position on account of age, the top portions of the letters in the first line of this epigraph are hidden by the next superposed thin *champa* stone-member supporting the *kumuda*-moulding, so that the writing could be deciphered only by tracing the visible lower portions of the letters. Although I had realised the importance of this record for Chêra chronology more than a year ago, I could not make it public, as I could then produce only an eye-copy in support of my statements and could not substantiate them by an authoritative facsimile. I have now managed after some trouble to get a fairly satisfactory estampage prepared; and this piece of indisputable epigraphical evidence is surely entitled to much greater consideration than the debatable arguments based merely on astronomical, palæographical, or linguistic data.

This record is dated in the year (here one stone is much defaced) opposite to the 2nd year of the reign of king Bhâskara-Ravivarman, and mentions that while Gôvarddhana (this portion is mutilated) Mârttâṇḍavarmaṉ was governing Naṉṟuḷai-nâḍu, Śrîvallabhaṅkôdaivarmaṉ, the ruler of Vêṇâḍu (Vêṇâḍuḍaiya), made a gift of lands for the conduct of the Uttiraviḷâ-festival, beginning from the day of Kârttigai in the month of Kumbha. This record is incomplete, but with the details of the festival we are not much concerned. The important sychronism that the inscription furnishes is that Vêṇâḍuḍaiya Śrîvallabhaṅkôdai was a feudatory of the Chêra king Bhâskara-Ravivarman.

Fortunately for us, we know this Vêṇâḍu ruler from his Mâmbaḷḷi copper-plate (*T.A.S.*, IV, pp. 1-11) and his two Tiruvaṉvaṇḍûr stone inscriptions (*T.A.S.*, II, pp. 22-5); of these three, the copper-plate is dated in Kollam 149 and the astronomical details give the English equivalent—A.D. 973, November 10. As we do not know how long this Vêṇâḍu ruler reigned and in what part of his reign Kollam 149 fell, we can only premise that Bhâskara-Ravivarman, his suzerain of the Tirukkaḍittâṉam record, must have been reigning in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D.; and as Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai has, by calculating the details furnished in the Tirunelli plates (*T.A.S.*, II, pp. 30-1) of the latter, independently

[1] The inscription was examined in April 1925.

arrived at A.D. 978 for the king's accession, this is necessarily the correct initial date of this Chêra king. From another record, which has been edited in the *Travancore Archæological Series*, we learn that in the 2nd + 12th year of the Chêra king Bhâskara-Ravi, Gôvarddhana-Mârttâṇḍavarman, who was ruling over Naṉṟuḷai-nâḍu, was put in charge of Vêṇâḍu also. This would therefore indicate that Śrîvallabhaṅkôdai may have governed Vêṇâḍu till about the fourteenth year of Bhâskara-Ravi, *i.e.*, till A.D. 992, and that after his death Gôvarddhana-Mârttâṇḍavarman may have succeeded him in the Vênâḍu administration, and continued in that capacity till at least A.D. 1016, when he figured as a signatory in the Cochin plate of Bhâskara-Ravivarman's 2nd + 36th year of reign—(*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 66-9).

Thus we can accept it as proved that the Chêra king Bhâskara Ravivarman flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D., that the date of his accession to the throne was A.D. 978, and that he could not, under any circumstances, be assigned to so early a period as the sixth century A.D. The questions as to whether there were two kings of that name and, if so, how long each of them reigned, require more careful examination.

THE KSHAHARÂTAS. WERE THEY EXTERMINATED OR HAVE THEY LEFT ANY TRACES IN THE POPULATION OF THE DECCAN?

By Y. R. GUPTE, B.A., M.R.A.S.

It is a well-known fact that Nahapâna, the Satrap who was reigning in A.D. 124, in the Nasik district at any rate and most probably in the Poona and Thana districts of the Bombay Presidency as well, was ousted or killed about that year by Gautamîputra of the Ândhrabṛitya family. (Cf. Rapson's *Andhras*, p. xxvii). In an inscription in cave No. III at Nasik, called the Âkâśayâna, Gautamîputra boasts that he exterminated the race of the Kshaharâtas (*prâkṛita Khakharâtas*) to which Nahapâna belonged. (*Khakharâta-vasa-niravasêsakarasu*[1].) That Gautamîputra succeeded Nahapâna is borne out by a good many coins of Nahapâna counterstruck by Gautamîputra. These were found in the hoard discovered at Jôgaltêmbhî in the Sinnar Taluka of the Nasik district of the Bombay Presidency, (*vide* the Rev. Mr. H. R. Scott's article in the *Journal* of the *B. B. R. A. S.*).[2] Perhaps the Andhrabhṛitya king defeated and killed Nahapâna and his sons (if he had any), in a pitched battle and thus to a certain extent justified his proud assertion. The Satraps after Nahapâna are not known to have ruled in the Deccan. Certainly their records have not come to light. The Satraps of Surâshṭra, it is believed, were altogether a different dynasty. Be that as it may, are there any traces extant of the Kshaharâtas or Khakharâtas in the population of the Deccan? That the bulk of some castes of the peasantry and members of even some higher castes as well as lower have Scythic features, is an admitted fact. Nahapâna was a Scythian. But are there any surnames which correspond to Nahapâna's family name, and do the features of the members of these answer to the characteristic ones of the Scythians? I have long been thinking over this point. The surname Gharata, it is possible to derive from Khakharâta. But it can hardly be a direct derivation. Among the shepherds of the Deccan, however, we have a surname which evidently appears to be a short form of Khakharâta. It is Kharâta. The double *Kha* in it could hardly survive for centuries together and so we have the shorter form of the surname. In other words the first *Kha* of Khakharâta is omitted as usual and we get the shorter form *viz.*, Kharâta. The features of some members at any rate of this family have features similar to those of Nahapâna on the coins. Gautamiputra's boast that he annihilated the Kshaharâta or Khakharâta clan is similar to the futile one of Paraśurâma, who claimed to have exterminated the Kshatriyas several times? If they were annihilated where was the necessity of exterminating them again? The Ândhrabṛitya king might perhaps have killed all the members of the ruling Khakharâta family. But he could hardly have extirpated the whole clan or race of the Khakharâtas.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, p. 6[illegible], l. 6 of the text.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 22, 1906, pp. 224.

BOOK-NOTICES.

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA, 1924. Rangoon.

This *Report*, as ever, shows good work methodically done during 1923-1924, and contains much that is of general interest. For instance, it is pleasant to note that all the care possible is taken year by year to preserve the perishable structures at the Palace and City of Mandalay, which thus bid fair to last many a year longer. But for the public the most interesting part of the *Report* is that relating to the work of restoring and preserving important buildings, sites of excavations and fresh discoveries. Valuable attention has been paid to the preservation of the Sulamani and Tilominlo temple at Pagan and of the Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan. Further care has been bestowed on the conservation of the original inscription stones collected by King Bodawpaya in Amarapura City, and this is gratifying to myself, as their value is beyond estimation and they occupied so much of my attention when in Burma years ago. As the *Report* says, the collection "contains some of the oldest inscriptions as yet found in Burma and is a mine of information for the political and religious history of this province. They were collected by King Bodawpaya from all parts of Burma over a hundred years ago and form the largest collection to be found in any one place in Burma." Attached to the *Report* is a very valuable Appendix by that great authority on such matters—Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai—giving a list of dates in the Burmese Common Era in this collection. Considering that the list covers 37 pp. of the *Report*, and goes into the difficult chronology of 450 Inscriptions, the amount of work entailed in compiling it and its value to all future enquirers can be roughly gauged.

The great mediæval King Anoratâ (1044-77) created 43 fortress towns to the North and South-East of Pagân to curb the Shans. One of these was Mekkhayâ, and we are given a list of these fortresses, which is of value, and an account of Mekkhayâ in some detail.

But the most interesting of all the researches into old sites during the year were the excavations at Old Prome (Hmawza). Among these were those undertaken near Yahandakan village, disclosing an old Pyu cemetery and the important fact that that people were in the habit of cremating their dead and burying the ashes in urns, "the general custom of the Hindus being to throw the ashes into the river after cremation."

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE STATUES OF THE NAYAKS OF MADURA IN THE PUDU MANTAPAM, by the REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A., Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, vol. XV, No. 3.

This is a notable article and of great historical value, and one is grateful to Prof. Heras for writing it. In the Pudu Mantapam, "the Tirumala's Choultrie of Fergusson," are to be found statues of the first ten Nâyaks of Madura, which are portraits. They are unique in Indian history and moreover confirm the succession of these Nâyaks as found in the Tamil chronicles. This consideration alone shows their great importance to South Indian history.

The succession of the Nâyaks thus proved is as follows:

(1) Viśvanâtha, (ii) Kṛishṇappa, (iii) Viśvanâtha II, (iv) Periya Kṛishṇappa, (v) Lingama, (vi) Bisvama, (vii) Kastûrî Rangappa, (viii) Muttu Kṛishṇappa, (ix) Muttu Vîrappa, (x) Tirumala.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNUAL REPORT, WATSON MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, for 1923-24; RAJKOT, 1924.

The report of the Curator, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, is mainly concerned with his discovery during the year of important copper-plate inscriptions and other epigraphical material, which throw further light on the ancient history of Gujarat. Among these is the second half of a grant of the Paramara King Siyaka of Mâlwâ, which, read in conjunction with previously known grants, indicates that Siyaka must have been in possession of a portion of Gujarat at the time when the Chalukya ruler Mulraja had seized Anahilvâda from the Chavadas. Another find is a stone inscription of a Kshatrapa ruler, found near Chitroda in Cutch, which awaits full decipherment; while a third is a copy of an inscription of the Silahâra ruler, Aparâditya, on a stone now in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay, which records a grant of land at 'Sthânakiya Patana' (*i.e.*, Thana) by the minister, Lakshmana Nâyaka. The curious point about this inscription is that it is reported to have been found originally at Somnath, that is to say, within the dominions of a ruler who, so far as is known, had no relations with the Silahâra ruler of the North Konkan. An inscription from Cambay gives much information about the Jain minister Vastupala, viceroy of Viradhavala; and in the course of the year's work the Curator discovered that 17 inscriptions of the Chudasamas of Junagadh and 30 of the Chalukyas of Anahilvâda have up to the present remained undeciphered and unpublished. Some of the latter have been forwarded for publication to the Editor of *Epigraphia Indica*, while the Curator's reading of the former inscriptions has formed the subject of an article in the Gujarati journal *Puratattva*. Gogha yielded a gold coin of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, which it [illegible] for the Museum.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF (THE LATE) VIRCHAND RAGHAVJI GANDHI, collected by (the late) BHAGU F. KARBHARI, Shree Agamadaya Samiti Series, Bombay 1924. I. THE JAIN PHILOSOPHY: II. THE YOGA PHILOSOPHY: III. THE KARMA PHILOSOPHY.

The late Virchand Raghavji Gandhi was a Barrister and an enthusiastic writer and speaker on Jainism. He attended the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, U.S.A., as Jain delegate in 1893. His speeches and writings were carefully collected by the late Bhagu F. Kharbari, Editor of *The Jain*, and were subsequently published by the Jain Pustakodhar Fund. They are now very cheaply republished for general distribution by the Sri Agamadaya Samiti, a new institution, established at Bhoyani in the Ahmadabad District, the *tirtha* of Mallinâtha Tirthankara, for the spread of the Jain Scriptures.

The first of three volumes—*Jain Philosophy* gives a brief story of Virchand Gandhi's full and vigorous career, from his birth in 1864 to his death in 1901 at the early age of 37, and a number of speeches and papers by him on the Jains and their Philosophy, which are well worth the student's attention. In the second volume Virchand Gandhi performs a similar service for the well-known *Yoga* Philosophy. But in the third volume we have given us a detailed account of *Karma* on " the Law of Moral Causation."

All the volumes, despite their many faults of printing, are worth encouragement, and are calculated to bring about the object to which the author devoted his busy life.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SWAMI DAYANAND IN THE LIGHT OF TRUTH. A True and Critical Biography of the Founder of the Arya Samaj. Lahore, 1925.

This is a long and undignified attack on the Arya Samaj and its Founder, and shows that the *odium theologicum* is as rampant now in India as it was of old. It is not necessary, as this production does, to besmirch the birth and private character of a religious teacher, to prove that the tenets of the sect he founded are wrong.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ASOKA TEXT AND GLOSSARY, by ALFRED C. WOOLNER, M.A. Parts I and II: Panjab University Oriental Publications. H. Milford, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1924.

The stream of literature on the subject of the Asokan Edicts shows no sign of exhaustion. The present work, which has been prepared by Professor Woolner and published at the expense of the Panjab University, represents in large measure the results of the late Dr T. K. Laddu's analytical scrutiny of the Mauryan emperor's inscriptions. At the time of his death, he had completed a recension of the text of all the inscriptions, as well as a complete word-index of that text, as part and parcel of his scheme for an edition designed for the use of Indian University students. These materials are now presented to the public; the text of the inscriptions has been arranged in such a way as to bring together on a single page the different versions of the same Edict, each page being divided into three or four panels, so that two pages facing each other provide six or eight panels for display of synoptic versions, the word-index has been expanded into a full glossary, which together with the text provides the student of philology with a convenient handbook of early Prakrit; while an admirable Introduction discloses all relevant facts about the location, discovery, and contents of the inscriptions, and gives a sketch of the grammar of the language; in which they were written. Professor Woolner was fortunate enough to secure scrutiny of the proof-sheets of Dr. Hultzsch's new edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, before the present work was finally published, and thus was enabled to add important variants to the text, footnotes, and glossary.

The work seems to me to fulfil admirably the intended object. The glossary is succinct and withal exhaustive, though it is to be observed that under the words *Pitinikanam* and *Rastikinam* no reference is made to the theory, advanced in 1924 by a well-known student of Indian history and antiquities, that these words primarily signify certain definite types of political constitution, which gave their name to the peoples who respectively followed them. The theory, however, requires further examination by experts, and is on that account perhaps wisely omitted for the present from a work primarily intended for University students. The two volumes, issued by Professor Woolner, form a valuable addition to Asokan literature.

S. M. EDWARDES.

The SUBJECT INDEX TO PERIODICALS—Section I. Languages and Literature—London Library Association, Grafton and Co., 1925.

Here is another issue of this most valuable publication, giving references to Classical, Oriental and Primitive Languages in 123 periodicals. Four periodicals have been newly added to the list, each of the highest class. A glance through it shows how well and carefully this labour of love has been performed, but even with such an aid as this the path of the explorer is still difficult, as it is full of references to other " lists." But this cannot be helped, and easier though it may be now than it was in the past that I can personally remember, to make a profound research, the searcher must still take trouble. The compilers of the Index are highly to be congratulated.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF PÂṆINI AND THE PRÂTIŚÂKHYAS.

BY HANNES SKÖLD.

Attempts at establishing the precise age of Pâṇini and the Prâtiśâkhyas.

SINCE the time of Böhtlingk it has been regarded as fairly certain that Pâṇini belongs to the fourth century B.C., though, as Weber contended, the mention of *Yavanânî*, IV. 1. 49 ("Greek writing ", according to Kâtyâyana) would seem to point to a date later than 300 B.C. Moreover his relation to Patañjali, from whom he must necessarily have been separated by a considerable space of time, appears to warrant a date much anterior to that generally accepted.

In recent years two younger philologists, Messrs. Belvalkar and Charpentier, have tried to prove that the latter assumption is right. We can here content ourselves by merely asserting that no undeniable proofs have as yet been produced in support of either opinion. And it is unlikely that such proofs will ever be forthcoming. Unfortunately the age of Pâṇini is no mathematical problem and admits of no exact solution.

As to the relative age of the great grammarian we are far better circumstanced. Bhandarkar and Kielhorn have declared that the language described by Pâṇini was that of the Brâhmaṇas. They based this opinion rather on intuition than on facts, though Bhandarkar, *e.g.*, showed that the use of the aorist in the Brâhmaṇas was exactly the one prescribed by Pâṇini's rules. Professor Liebich, in his lucid book on Pâṇini, was the first to prove that the language of the Brâhmaṇas and Sûtras on the whole agrees with the rules of Pâṇini; and no Indianist is likely hereafter to repeat Whitney's opinion that the language fixed grammatically by that great Indian scholar is an artificial one—the invention of a pedantic maniac.

To my knowledge nobody has ever tried to establish either the absolute or the relative age of the Prâtiśâkhyas, except as compared with the age of Pâṇini and Yâska[1]. Goldstücker, that unrivalled student of Pâṇini, as is well-known, asserted that the Prâtiśâkhyas are posterior to Pâṇini, while Max Müller holds the contrary view as far as the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya is concerned. This view seems to have been adopted by most Indianists on Müller's authority, but some of his followers only extend the claim of priority to the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya, while the other Prâtiśâkhyas are believed to be later than Pâṇini. This is the contention of Burnell, *Aindra School*, p. 85, and Liebich *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, II, pp. 30 and 45. The latter author seems to regard also the Vâjasaneyi Prâtiśâkhya as pre-Pâṇinean. On the other hand Weber, Wackernagel, and others place the Prâtiśâkhyas generally in the pre-Pâṇinean epoch, while Westergaard and Pischel upheld the opinion of Goldstücker. All seem to agree that the *language* of the Prâtiśâkhyas is comparatively late.

We will now proceed to examine the arguments put forward by Max Müller in favour of his opinions. As they are exposed in the preface to his edition of the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya, they refer to the opposing views of Goldstücker, to whose work, therefore, we need not specially refer.

The arguments of Max Müller.

These arguments may be shortly summarised in the following way :

(1) Pâṇini quotes the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya, but this work does not quote him ;

(2) Indian authors never regard the Prâtiśâkhyas as being posterior to Pâṇini;

(3) the *pûrvâcâryas* quoted by the commentator of the Vâjasaneyi Prâtiśâkhya, I. 54, are never referred to by Pâṇini nor by Kâtyâyana's Prâtiśâkhya ;

(4) the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya calls itself *vedâṅga*.

(5) the Vyâḍi quoted by that work is not the author of the Saṃgraha.

1 An exception is perhaps the statement of Max Müller in the preface to his edition of the *Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya* : " Reicht Kâtyâyana in das vierte Jahrhunderte, so mag Śaunaka wohl in das fünfte reichen, und Pâṇini würde dann auf der Grenze beider Jahrhunderte stehn."

" Pâṇini quotes the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya. "

The quotations do not refer directly to the Prâtiśâkhya as such, but to Śâkalya.

Now even admitting that Sâkalya was the head of the school, in which this supposed *śikṣâ* originated, he is not necessarily its author. Max Müller himself believes, as we think, quite correctly, that Saunaka according to the Indian tradition, should be regarded as the author.

Let us admit that Śâkalya probably was the head of this school, though he is quoted in the Prâtiśâkhya itself as an authority of discrepant views. Even in this case a quotation of Śâkalya does not imply that Pâṇini knew the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya or Śaunaka—who is only quoted once in a *bhâṣye na vyâkhyâtam*—; it only could prove that he knew Śâkalya. And as at least two persons of that name are mentioned in the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya itself, a quotation in Pâṇini, which does not definitely distinguish between the two, could only refer to the older Śâkalya.

But assuming for the sake of argument he knew also the younger Śâkalya (though it would undoubtedly be curious if so clear a thinker as Pâṇini should have omitted to specify to which of the two he was referring), it may reasonably be held that Śâkalya might have been older than Pâṇini and even been the head of that school, in which the Prâtiśâkhya originated, without the Prâtiśâkhya necessarily being in existence in the time of Pâṇini. For the Prâtiśâkhya is undoubtedly the product of a long development. And as it quotes Śâkalya also—both Pâṇini and the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya *may be quoting from a common source.*

This argument in itself cannot prove what it is intended to, *viz.*, the posteriority of Pâṇini.

But let us now turn to the passages quoted and examine them.

The quotations are found in I. 1. 16 ; VI. 1. 127 ; VIII. 3. 19 ; VIII. 4. 51.

Now out of these *sûtras* all are *bhâṣye na vyâkhyâtâni* except VI. 1. 127. We must therefore admit the possibility that they were not known to Patañjali.

It is curious to note that, while Max Müller is able to show that the statements contained in the other *sûtras* quoted may be traced also in the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya (a circumstance, which in itself even is no reason in favour of its higher age), he states as to VI. 1. 127 : " Hier sagt-er [Pâṇini], dass, nach Śâkalya, auslautendes *i, u, ṛ*, vor unähnlichen Vokalen unverändert bleiben können, und fügt dann hinzu, dass diese Vokale kurz werden. Für die Verkürzung findet sich nun allerdings keine Autorität im Prâtiśâkhya."

Thus we see, that, even if this argument were not actually erroneous, it could not prove aught that it is believed to establish, for *those statements of Śâkalya, which have the authority of the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya, are not found in Patañjali, and the one found there has no corresponding statement in the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya.*

The opinion of Indian authors.

Max Müller himself appears to realize the feebleness of this argument, for he admits it has " zwar an sich keine Zwingende Beweiskraft."

It is easy to refute it by pointing out *that no statements of Indian authors to the contrary* (*i.e.*, that Pâṇini must be of later date) *are known,* and that comparisons of this kind seem to be altogether lacking.

The Pùrvâcâryas.

First of all, if the *purvâcâryas* are quoted by the commentator, the word can in no way prejudice our opinion as to the age of the work commented upon. A commentator can never precede in time the work which he studies. And if the expression is not found in Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana, this may be due to the fact that it *had not yet been invented at their dates.*

As to the Vâjasaneyi Prâtiśâkhya *Weber I St, IV*, 65, states that it is a work of Kâtyâyana's school[2]. Even assuming that there existed more than one Kâtyâyana, nobody surely would believe the Prâtiśâkhya to belong to the latter one of the two, thus automatically referring it to a time far posterior to Pâṇini. - But, if the argument invoked by Müller implies what he thinks, it must amount to the contradictory absurdity that *Kâtyâyana was not only prior, but also posterior, to himself.* The argument is obviously fallacious.

The expression *pûrvâcâryas* is used also in the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya and the Atharva Prâtiśâkhya (I. 11. 94) and thus seems to have been a technical term of the *śikṣâs.*

The Vedâṅga argument.

Goldstücker asserted that the Prâtiśâkhyas could not be regarded as the Vedâṅga *vyâkaraṇam*. Max Müller retorted, that they did not pretend to be so ; but the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya, being a *śikṣâ*, called itself a Vedâṅga.

This latter fact cannot be denied. But does it prove that it *was* a Vedâṅga ? The Bible never calls itself the Bible, nor does the Ṛg Veda call itself the Ṛg Veda.

Now Pâṇini *never* mentions the Veda as such, and on examining the special *chandas* rules of Pâṇini, I have reached the conclusion, that they do not apply to the Veda as a whole but only to the Ṛg Veda. The *Śivasûtras* still bear the mark of an influence prior to Pâṇini.[3] He never mentions, or even alludes to the Padapâṭhas. And in the places, where he uses the word *saṃhitâ*, it has quite another and earlier sense (from which that of *saṃhitâ* text is derived) : his own definition of the word (I. 4. 109) is *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitâ*, and Böhtlingk therefore rightly translates this word in Pâṇini by 'ein ununterbrochener Verlauf der Rede '.

Now the task of the Prâtiśâkhyas is to describe the relation of the *saṃhitâ* and the *pada* texts to one another. But we know very well, that in the eyes of early Indian authors the *pada* text possesses no share whatever in the holiness of the *saṃhitâ* text. And Patañjali, whom nobody would dare to place earlier than Pâṇini, *directly denies its authoritative force* (to Pâṇini III, 1, 109). But if this be the case, this way of regarding the Padapâṭhas *ought to apply even more forcibly to the Prâtiśâkhyas, whose very existence presupposes the pada text.*

As to the Kramapâṭha, to the description whereof the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya devotes so great a space, an allusion to it could be found in Pâṇini IV. 2. 61, *kramâdibhyo vun* teaching the formation of *kramaka* from *krama*, etc. But this sûtra is not found in Patañjali. (The other words of the gaṇa are *pada, śikṣâ, mîmâṅsâ, sâman.*)

And it is indeed remarkable, as was pointed out already by Goldstücker (p. 195), that native tradition, which made Pâṇini an *ṛṣi* of yore and his work the *vyâkaraṇa* of the Vedâṅgas, knows nothing of the sacred character of the Prâtiśâkhyas. To quote Goldstücker's own words : " Tradition even in India,—and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish critic will permit me to lay some stress,—does not rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of Vaidik literature those works which *apparently* stand in the closest relation to it, —which have no other object than that of treating of the Vaidik texts of the Saṃhitâs ;—but it has canonized Pâṇini's *Vyâkaraṇa*, which, on the contrary, would seem to be more concerned with the language of common life than with that of the sacred hymns."

Our conclusion should rather be the exact opposite of that urged by Max Müller, *viz.*, that the *Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya's own claim to be a Vedâṅga proves it to be a comparatively late work, for it presupposes the existence already of the Vedâṅgas* ; *the elaboration of the Vedâṅgas being a*

2 This has been surmised already by Goldstücker who identified the commentator of Pâṇini with the author of this Prâtiśâkhya, and Max Müller himself endorsed that opinion, *cf.* the introduction to his edition of the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya, p. 6. Liebich, *op. laud*, p. 35, also believes Kâtyâyana really to have been its author.

3 *Cf.* Sköld, *Papers on Pâṇini and Indian Grammar in general* (Lunds Universitets Arsskrift, 1925), pp. 8 *sqq*.

process perhaps of centuries, one of the earliest works of that kind could not have mentioned that whole literary collection as already existing. This would be as absurd as if Shakespeare's very first play were to claim to be the first part of his collected works.

The Vyâḍi Argument.

Vyâḍi is quoted several times by the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya. In the commentary on the introduction to the Mahâbhâṣya (*kim punar nityaḥ śabdaḥ*, etc.). Nageśa tells us that the *saṃgraha* alluded to by Patañjali is a work in 100,000 ślokas written by Vyâḍi (*Vyâḍikṛto lakṣaślokasaṃkhyo granthaḥ*). In the Uttarakâṇḍa of Râmâyaṇa, 36, 45, an allusion is also made to a *saṃgraha*, studied by *Hanumant*, and the commentator states the saṃgraha to be the work of Vyâḍi.

Now Goldstücker drew attention to Patañjali's commentary on the second *vârttika* of Pâṇini's rule II. 3. 66, where the *bhâṣyakâra* as an instance thereof gives the phrase: "beautiful indeed is Dâkṣâyaṇa's creation of the Saṃgraha."

We know that Pâṇini's mother bore the name of Dâkṣî. Now Dâkṣâyaṇa, according to the rules for the formation of names, would mean a relation of Dâkṣî, the son or a grandson or of a later scion of the lineage of a family chief of that name. As the commentators of Pâṇini agree in making Dâkṣî "the female family head of the progeny of Dakṣa," Vyâḍi, according to Goldstücker, "was a near relation of Pâṇini, and Pâṇini must have preceded him by at least two generations."

If Max Müller retorts that at least *three* Vyâḍis are known and as many (if not more) Saṃgrahas, one can reply truly that only *one* Vyâḍi is named as the author of a Saṃgraha, and only *one* Saṃgraha is accepted as the work of a Vyâḍi.

But he does not deny that the instance quoted by Patañjali refers to this Vyâḍi, the author of the Saṃgraha. He urges that the rule, under which the name of Dâkṣâyana is quoted as an example, especially lays down the condition that the great-grandson, etc., should be called *yuvan*, only as long as the father, the elder brother or one of the old Sapiṇḍas are living; and he asks: "Was geschieht also, wenn diese gestorben sind?"

As far as I can see, this question is quite out of place. For when the rule was illustrated by the word Dâkṣâyaṇa, evidently the commentators meant that the conditions laid down in the rule did apply fully to this name; *i.e.*, they presuppose a time when the father, etc., of Dâkṣâyaṇa was living.

But when Max Müller states that *yuvan* names also, according to Pâṇini, IV. 1. 166, were given *honoris causa*, and that Dâkṣî, Pâṇini's mother, need not have been the daughter of the same Dakṣa, who was the great-grandfather of Dâkṣâyaṇa, the correctness of his assertion, of course, cannot be denied. For, however likely the combination made by Goldstücker seems to be, I quite agree that it cannot be proved to stand beyond all doubts.

But the same argument applies with greater force still to what Max Müller himself further says. For when he quotes a second-hand quotation from Somadeva found in the work of the Tibetan Târânâtha, according to which Vyâḍi is described as the school-fellow of Pâṇini and the teacher of Kâtyâyana-Vararuci, this flatly contradicts another passage of Somadeva's work (*Kathâsaritsâgara*, ed. Brockhaus, I. p. 31) which makes Kâtyâyana the elder of the two and relates how he was challenged to a dispute on grammar and was conquered by Pâṇini. Thus, even if such late authors as Somadeva and Târânâtha really could be thought in one matter or another to have recorded an ancient tradition, this can in no way be the case on this point, for Somadeva, the earlier of the two, shows a profound ignorance of the chronology of Indian grammarians.

Immediately after this quotation Max Müller concludes: "Könnten wir aber nicht entscheiden, ob der Verfasser des Saṃgraha derselbe war als der Vyâḷi, welcher unter den bedeutendsten Śikṣâ—Autoritäten vom Verfasser unseres Prâtiśâkhya zitiert wird, so hätten wir

jedenfalls ein vollkommenes Recht zu schliessen, dass, wenn Vyâḷi, der Verfasser des Saṃgraha, viel jünge rwar als Pâṇini, er unmöglich derselbe Vyâḷi gewesen sein kanu, welcher das Prâtiśâkhya zitiert.

Now this is a *petitio principii*, presupposing that which ought to be proved ; and Max Müller's other arguments have proved to be so feeble, that they can by no means make up for the lack of evidence in the Vyâḷi question.

First of all, I request, we know only of *one* Vyâḍi, who was the author of a Saṃgraḥa. The Prâtiśâkhya can hardly be thought to refer to any other author.

Now Vyâḍi is quoted by the *Mahâbhâṣya* to I. 2. 64. His school is referred to in the commentary on VI. 2. 36, in connection with that of other grammarians, thus : *Âpiśala-Pâṇinîya-Vyâḍîya-Gautamîyâḥ*. Accordingly the Âpiśali school is made out to be the oldest one, while the school of Pâṇini precedes that of Vyâḍi, this one being older than that of Gotama. The *Trikâṇḍadeśa* II. 7. 24. 25, also puts Vyâḍi after Pâṇini, but makes him older than Kâtyâyana (the epithet of *Vindhyastha*, which would be applicable to this last mentioned grammarian, is erroneously transferred on Pâṇini).

It thus seems probable that Vyâḍi is later than Pâṇini, but older than Kâtyâyana and (of this there can be no doubt) older than Patañjali.[4]

I may point out another fact which corroborates my contention, *viz.*, that the Vyâḍi of the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya must be a grammarian who worked after the time of Pâṇini.

This same Prâtiśâkhya in rule 509 (according to Müller's numeration) quotes the opinion of a certain Kautsa. Now the *Mahâbhâṣya* also refers to a Kautsa *sub.* III. 2, 108 ; " als spezieller Zeitgenosse, und wie es scheint Schüler Pâṇini's ", according to Weber (the passage runs : *upasedivân Kautsaḥ Pâṇinim*). A Kautsa is also quoted by the *Nirukta*.

Since to the best of our belief no work of any Kautsa has been handed down to us, a wide field for conjecture lies open ; and he who believes in the priority of the Ṛk Prâtiśâkhya might well retort that more than *one* Kautsa must have existed. This possibility I do not deny. But, until the contrary is proved, I maintain emphatically that, if the name of a certain grammarian is quoted in different grammatical works and if we have no proof of the existence of more than one grammarian of that name, it is in the highest degree probable that all the grammatical works refer to one and the same individual grammarian.

---

4 Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 27, places Vyâḍi between Pâṇini and Patañjali.

TWO TAMIL HYMNS FOR THE MARGAZHI FESTIVAL.

TRANSLATED BY A. BUTTERWORTH AND PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

(*Continued from page 167.*)

Hymn (2).

1. Of the Great and Marvellous Splendour which hath no beginning nor end, we sing.
Hearing us sing, canst Thou, O damsel with the bright long eyes.
Sleep on ? That ear of Thine, is it the ear of deafness ?
The sound of adoration in praise of the Great God's broad anklet
Hath spread through the street, yet sighing, sighing, lost to reality,
She turneth on her flowerful couch ;
She lieth there, as if she were naught. Why thus, why thus !
Is this the measure of the friendship of our friend ? Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

2. Transported day and night by devotion to the divine Glory,
When shall we speak His praise, if now thou art
Of this flowery couch enamoured, O maid with faultless gems adorned ?
Ye beauteously bejewelled ones ! Shame on you ! Are these also trifles ?
Is this the place for sporting and for jest ?
The Heavenly High One whose flowerlike feet the Gods themselves
In shamefast fear do shrink from praising,
Those feet the Light Sublime hath come to bestow
Upon those his devotees assembled in Tillai's court;
They are those in His affection wrapt ; but who are we ? Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

3. O thou whose smile is bright as a pearl—
Thou who wouldst stand before us and say in words of swelling sweetness,
" Our Father, the Bliss eternal, Ambrosia divine," come thou and open the door—
Ye that are devout, ye of old attachment to the Lord, ye of disciplined conduct,
Would it come amiss if ye overlook our unworthiness and accept us as novices in service unto Him ?
Is this a trick ? Do we not, all of us, know the measure of your Love ?
Will not those of devout mind sing the glory of our Śiva ?
Verily all of this we do deserve. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

4. O thou whose smile is a splendid pearl, even now hath it not dawned ?
Have all come babbling like the tinted parrots ?
We will count and then tell you if they have, meanwhile
Waste not thy time in useless sleep, but with melting heart
Sing of Him who is the unequalled Elixir (balm) of heaven,
Of Him who is the Veda's highest meaning, of Him
Whose look is balm to the eye. Singing, dissolve in inmost ecstasy of heart.
Nay, we will not ; count thyself. If the number fall short
On thy count, then go to sleep. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

5. Lady whose mouth floweth with milk and honey, who mockingly
Utterest falsehoods, telling that such as we do know
Him whom, as mountain, Mâl knew not, the Four faced saw not, open the gateway.
Although we raise the cry ' Śivan ' ' Śivan ', singing to the Majesty of Him
Whom Earth and Heaven and all the rest have never known
And His purifying Goodness which graciously bringeth us beneath His sway,
Thou wilt not understand us ; lo, thou wilt not wake up.
And in this state art thou, lady of the perfumed locks. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

6. O Fawn, albeit yesterday Thou didst say
" To-morrow will I myself awaken you," declare without shame
To what quarter did that promise of thine go ; for hath it not already dawned ?
He who is beyond the knowledge of Heaven itself and Earth and all things besides,
Himself will come and, in His grace cherishing us, will accept us in service.
Thou wilt not open thy lips to us who have come to thee singing the glory of His jewelled feet.
Thou wilt not let thy flesh melt in devotion to Him. This alone is conduct befitting thee.
Sing thou of Him who is Lord of us and of all others besides. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

7. Mother, are these things too but trifles ? When thou hearest described
The auspicious signs of Him who is incomprehensible to the many Immortals,
The One, the Greatly Splendid, thou openest Thy lips uttering the name " Sivan."
Before one hath cried out " O Thou of the South", thou wilt melt like wax near fire ;
" Mine Own, my King, Sweet Ambrosia " we, all of us,
Have cried, each of us by herself apart, and dost thou still lie asleep ?
Like the hard-hearted fools thou in silence liest.
What is the nature of thy sleep ? Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

8. The cock croweth and birds cry all round.
The flute soundeth and conches ring all round.
Of the Incomparable Supreme Splendour, of the Incomparable Supreme Mercy
We sang in terms of the highest meaning ; didst thou not hear ?
May thou prosper ! What sort of sleep is this ? Prithee open thy lips.
Is this ever the way that the love of Vishṇu executeth itself ?
Of the One which abideth as the First from all Eternity,
Of Him who is always on the side of the humble,[20] sing, Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

9. O ancient Being, essence of all that is the primal ancient essence,
O Thou, who art also even that which is the newest,
We who are slaves of Thy glorious feet, having obtained Thee as our Lord,
Will worship at the feet of Thy servants ; to such we will give our allegiance.
May such men become our husbands ; in such manner as
They please to say, we will obediently serve them as their slaves ;
O our King, if thou but favour us with this kind of life,
We shall be lacking in naught. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

10. Beneath the sevenfold Underworld is the ineffable foot-blossom.
The flower-crowned head is of all the universe the very Head.
The sacred form, on one side woman, is not alone His form.
Although the Heavenly Ones and earth praise Him as the Vedas' beginning,
He is the one indescribable Friend, who abideth ever in the devout.
O ye girls within the temple of Him faultless abide.
What is His town ? What is His name ? Who are His kinsfolk ? Who are strangers to Him ?
In what manner shall He be sung ? Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

11. Entering the broad and crowded tank, with splashing
We have bathed, scooping up (the water) with our hands, having hymned Thine anklet,

20 'Him who is in part woman', is also another interpretation. but it has no appropriateness here where Siva's grace to devotees is the theme.

We, Thy servants for generations, O Lord! are happy. Thou who as the precious fire
Art red; Thou who wearest the white ashes; Thou blest with the highest wealth;
Thou Bridegroom of the small-waisted woman with the wide, black eyes;
Ah Lord, in Thy merciful sport of accepting service and saving souls, what of observances
Those who would be saved perform, all such have we finished performing.
Guard us in Thy mercy that we weary not. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

12. The Pure One whom we praise in noisy dance that the woes which bind to birth may cease,
The Dancer, that, in the Court of Tillai, like flame of fire doth dance,
Having, in sport. this sky. the earth and all of us
Protected, created, destroyed—
Discoursing of His greatness, with bracelets tinkling, long jewelled-girdles
Sounding like laughter, and beetles buzzing over our coiled hair,
Let us bathe, in the tank bright with flowers in bloom, scooping up the water,
All the time singing of the glory of the golden feet of Our Lord. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

13. Because of the dark blossoms of bright kuvaḷai (eye of Pârvati), because, of the bright bloom of red lotuses, (eye of Śiva),
Because of the swarms of pretty little birds (white bracelets of conch-shell) there, because of their cries too (Cobras, as armlets of Śiva).
Because of the throng of those who come to wash impurity from their bodies,
This bubbling pool is like our Lady Pârvati and our Lord Śiva in one.
Leap into it, again and again,
With our shell-bracelets tinkling, with ankle-rings jingling together,
With our bosoms swelling, and the water swelling up around us,
Leap into the water abloom with lotuses and take your bath. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

14. With ear-rings waving, with bright, bejewelled trinkets waving,
With garlanded tresses waving, while the swarming beetles waver,
In the cool water bathe. Singing of the "Small Court",
Singing of Him who is the Vedas' meaning, singing how He happened to become that meaning,
Singing of the power of the Supreme Light, singing of His encircling wreath of cassia,
Singing of the power of Him as the Beginning of all, singing likewise of Him as the end of all,
Take thou thy bath, singing, the praise of the feet
Of the Lady who changeth, saveth, exalteth us. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

15. Once and again crying "My Lord", she[21] did never cease,
To belaud the greatness of Our Lord, her heart rapt in joy.
Her eyes wet with the increasing flow of tears;
She would now and then worship Him by falling upon the earth but would not worship the Gods of Heaven.
Him who, in this wise, maddens his worshippers
In extending to them His Grace, Him, will we sing full-mouthed,
O ye women with heaving and adorned bosoms let us sport and bathe
In the water fragrant with beautiful flowers. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

[21] This has been held to refer to one of the 63 Śaiva devotees who is described as the "Lady of Karaikkâl", as she had forgotten her own name.—ED.

16. Rain-cloud that first drainest the sea, then risest up
Gleaming like Her, our Owner, glittering and shining
Like the slender waist of Her who holdeth us as thralls,
Tinkling like the golden, lovely anklet on the Queen's foot,
Bearing a bow like Her sacred eyebrow, pour thou forth
Rain like the sweet grace which She our Mother, She who holdeth us as thralls,
Showereth down upon us all, mindful of those
Who love Our Lord, the King who never is apart from Her. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

17. Such delight as He in us findeth is not in the Red-eyed One,
Nor in Him who faceth the quarters, nor in the Gods, nor elsewhere.
Thou lovely one whose black locks absorb perfume ! Singing of Him, who exalted us,
Who arriving here in His grace in all our homes,
In grace tendereth the ruddy lotus of His golden foot,
The King of the gracious look, the ambrosia precious to us slaves,
Our Prince ; plunge in the fair and shining water,
Bestrewn with lotus blooms, and bathe. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

18. The sun hath arisen with his effulgent beams and hath hidden himself behind a dark cloud ;
The stars are passing out of sight having lost their light thereby ;
As the bright gems in the crowns of the Gods lose their lustre
When they come to worship at the feet of the Lord of Aṇṇâmalai ;
As Male, as Female, as Neither, as Heaven filled with glowing light,
As Earth, as something different from these,
As visible Ambrosia, He standeth. Sing his anklet,
O maiden, and spring into the flowery flood and bathe. Êl Ôr, Our Lady.

19. " The child in Thy hand, in Thee hath its refuge".
In fear as we renew that old saying
O, Lord of us all, let us but ask this one boon of thee.
Listen to our prayer.
Let our breasts be never for those that love Thee not.
Let our hands do no work not of service unto Thee.
By night and by day let our eyes see naught but Thee.
If thou but grant this to us, O Lord !
What mattereth it to us where the Sun riseth. Êl Ôr, our Lady.

20. Hail ! May Thy foot-blossom which is the Beginning, be gracious.
Hail ! May Thy rosy, tender (feet) which are the End, be gracious.
Hail ! The golden foot which is the source of all life.
Hail ! The flowery anklets which are the Bliss of all things living.
Hail ! The twin feet which are the Goal of life to all that live.
Hail ! The lotus which even Mâl and the Four-faced could not see.
Hail ! The golden blossoms which graciously accept our service, give us life.
Hail ! May we bathe in Mârgaḷi. Êl Ôr, our Lady.

Supplementary Note.

This festival seems to be an old time ceremony observed by the people of India generally. There is a description of the ceremony, at least a few essential details of it, in Book X, chapter 22 of the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*. According to this the ceremony was performed during the

whole of the first month of the dewy season (*hêmanta*), that is, the winter. The whole body of the girl folk of the cowherd settlement turn out for a bath in the Jamna at dawn or morning twilight, and perform the worship of the Goddess Durga[22], fashioned out of sand and placed in a position in the river bed itself. Throughout the period they had to be on a regulated diet, and made various offerings in the shape of songs, flowers, fruit, etc., praying all the while that the Goddess may grant them for their husband, Krishna. According to this version, the ceremony lasted throughout the month, and came to a close at the end of it. The object here is the securing of a husband of their hearts' desire. Even so it seems to be something of a modification of an already existing festival, the object of which was not merely the attainment of the desired husband, but also the getting of timely rain for the benefit of the whole community.

The actual festival seems to have lasted a whole month that is. the whole month of Mârgaḷi. What actually was the month, when it began and when it ended are not defined to us. The Bhâgavata Purâṇa describes it in general terms as the first month of the *hêmanta* season, thus indicating that the ceremony was of a month's duration. This is described, however, in the Tiruvâdavûrar Purâṇam as taking place "in the month of Mârgaḷi, lasting for only ten days before the *nakshatra Ârdra*, (Âdirai)."[23] But this statement apart the month would have ended in the *nakshatra Ârdra*, that is the full moon of the month, and therefore, it would have been a pûrnimânta (month), that is, a month ending in the full moon according to Bhâgavata Purâṇa as stated above. The festival was primarily intended for the worship of Durga, and had for its objects the attainment of two worldy benefits : the public benefit of timely rain, and the individual benefit of a desirable husband.

This is described in an old poem in the collection Paripâḍal under the name Tainnîrâḍal (bath of Tai). The festival is supposed to be begun, by learned Brahmans, in the *Ârdra Nakshatra* at the end of the rainy season. The purpose of the festival, as given, is a prayer that the earth may be cooled by seasonal rain. The same institution is described as *Amba Âḍal*, the celebration, or the festival of Ambâ, which is only another name for Durga. The celebrants were unmarried girls, who go through the bath in the presence of their mothers, and are put through it by elderly Brahman ladies, practised in the performance of these ceremonies. This description occurs in a poem glorifying the river Vaikai flowing by Madura, and is more or less of a general character. There the name of the festival is given as Tainnîrâḍal.

It is thus clear that the old world popular institution was a bathing festival, which lasted through the whole month, and came to a close at the end of it. The purpose of the festival is a prayer to the Goddess Durga that girls may secure eligible husbands, and people may be happy with abundant rainfall. This annual festival is made use of by the poets here for their own particular purpose, which is an exhibition of unalloyed devotion to the God of each one's choice. Âṇḍâḷ or Kôdai makes use of the story to express in her own fervid manner the affectionate enjoyment of God in the form of Krishna in her poem. Mâṇikkavâśagar in his own characteristic way wishes to exhibit his feelings of analloyed devotion to Śiva, using the same machinery for the purpose. The two poems, therefore, are subjective in character, and their purpose is clearly the exhibition of one's feeling of devotion and nothing else. The objective outward description takes in all the details of erotic affection of the Gopis for Krishna, and, perhaps in a somewhat less fervid fashion, Mâṇikkavâśagar has used the prayers of the young women folk for attaining their object, the securing of husbands devoted to the service of Śiva.

22 Pâvai or Amba both have the significance, and Śrî as Mr. B. takes it in his note above.

23 Tiruvambalaccharukham,. 40.

The festival as an institution is not altogether a dead institution. It would appear a festival like that is still celebrated in the month of Mârgaḷi in the Malabar country, where women enjoy themselves in a bath in groups with songs and festivities, more or less of a similar chacracter. As far as it is possible to make out the songs seem to be the songs addressed to the God of Love, and the object seems to be the securing of husbands of their own liking. The poetess Ândal in the *Tiruppâvai dacad* (10) describes the festival in the month of Tai where this God of Love is worshipped with a view to securing the desired husband. Whether the Malabar festival has reference to the Mârgaḷi bath, or the Tai festival cannot be decided without the full details of the festival being obtained, which must be left over for another occasion. Neither of them seems to have any connection with the Holi festival as it ordinarily obtains in Northern India, and, to perhaps a smaller extent, in the South. It seems further to be distinct from the so-called Mârgaḷi or Tiruvâdirai festival. The Tai festival according to Âṇḍâḷ seems to have lasted on to the Panguṇi month, and was a festival intended to propitiate the God of Love. As such it has to be regarded as quite distinct from the Mârgaḷi festival. The Malabar festival already referred to seems to be one more akin to the Tai festival than to the Mârgaḷi bath, having regard merely to the object aimed at, and the God to be propitiated.

It is interesting to note that an inscription of 1530 in the Govindaraja Temple at Tirupati refers to the festival of the Mârgaḷi but in connection with Âṇḍâḷ which began on the 24th of the month and lasted for 7 days, the festival actually coming to a close on the *Kanu* day *i.e.*, the 2nd day of the month of Tai under the current system.

Two of the Malabar songs were copied and sent on to me at my request and on examination prove to be songs relating to the abduction of Subhadra by the Pâṇḍava hero Arjuna, her cousin. This is an indication that the festival such as is celebrated at present is not the original one, if there had been such, but one into which the cult of Krishna had been introduced.

The purpose of Goda in the first poem is merely to give expression to her enjoyment of the object of her devotion, that is, Vishnu. In the form of Krishna he is the beloved of the girl folk of the cowherd settlement at Gokulam. Goda puts herself subjectively in the position of the whole body of girls and enjoys mentally all that she believes they had enjoyed of him. This has the outward appearance of mere desire of the flesh, but is actually nothing more than a mere mental attitude, and as such free from all taint of physical love. To those that cannot rise to the height of this abstraction, it presents the carnal aspects and may even lead to abuse, as in fact it has in its onward development. But the actual purpose of the author is by a mere recital of her intellectual experience to bring home to those that may not have attained to her level, the idea of the bliss there is in it.

In Mâṇikkavâśagar's poem a similar purpose runs through it. The subject is brought with severe simplicity to the ultimate idea of the prayer of the girls that they may have for their husbands those devoted to Śiva. Otherwise the machinery is the same. The songs are sung in praise of Śiva—the pleasure in the sight, the delight in the proximity and the ineffable happiness of union with the Godhead. This poem is given a Tantric exposition as the other one a philosophic, and both of them may be brought into the realm of philosophy each in its own particular way—S.K.

THE RECOVERY OF THE GREAT BELL OF THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA AT RANGOON.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

IN 1895 the late Mr. T. Hesketh Biggs published a small book on the Great Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, and regarding that work the late Mr. (afterwards Sir Frank) McCarthy of the *Rangoon Gazette* wrote to me on the 18th February 1896 that "he says the story of the salvage of the big bell [the Mahaganda at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda] by the Burmese from the Rangoon river is a myth. I have a distinct recollection that you told me one evening at the Gymkhana Club [at Rangoon] the history of the rescue. Can you set the matter at rest? There is some controversy about it here."

I was then at Port Blair in the Andaman Islands, and I have with me still all the correspondence which ensued in the *Rangoon Gazette* and its *Weekly Budget*. I publish it here, as it is of general interest and worth-preserving.

On 11th March 1896, Mr. Hesketh Biggs wrote from Calcutta, acknowledging that he had made a mistake, as follows :—" The letter of your correspondent, O.L., in your issue of the 9th February[1] settles the question of the story of the Pagoda Bell. I can only express my regret for my mistake, which I shall correct. In explanation of the view I took, I should say that in none of the accounts of the first [Burmese] war I was able to procure in Rangoon was there any mention of the story of the bell, and I was most positively assured by an old Burman, who was well acquainted with the history of the Pagoda, that there was no foundation in fact for it. It seemed to me also incredible that the Burmans could have raised the bell from such a river as the Irrawaddy if it had fallen in any distance from the shore, and I, therefore, came to the conclusion that the story of this bell had become confused with that of the bell of Dhammacheti, which was sunk in the Poozoondoung creek.

"I have come across another account of the recovery of the bell in a work entitled "Two years in Ava from May 1824 to May 1826" by an officer [Tarrant] of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, published in 1827. From his account the bell was rescued by the British, assisted by the Burmans, and it evidently sank not far from the river bank. The writer states; 'We made an attempt in April 1825 to send the great bell to Calcutta, and succeeded with much labour and difficulty in embarking it on a raft to carry it alongside the *Sulimany*. The raft pushed off. Thousands of Burmans were looking on deploring the loss of so revered a relic of former times, when on a sudden it heeled over and sunk. There it remained for some months, but in January 1826 we raised it from the river, with the assistance of the population of Rangoon and replaced it in the Pagoda.' "

Communications between Rangoon and Port Blair in 1896 were infrequent and very slow, so my reply to Sir Frank McCarthy's letter was not published till 24th March 1896, when the following paragraph appeared in the *Weekly Budget*: "A correspondent, who is a recognized authority on Burmese antiquities, sends us a communication on the recent dispute about the great bell of the Pagoda. He is at too great a distance to have seen the later communications which set at rest the doubt as to the adventures of the great bell. He says: 'There are two large bells on the platform of the Shwe Dagon: one of nine tons, placed at the South-East corner by Tharrawaddy in 1842 to replace one on the same spot, presented by Dhammacheti of Pegu about 1460 and subsequently removed and dropped in the Pazundaung Creek by Maung Zinga (Philip de Brito) about 1600; the other of 22 tons, the Mahaganda (or great bell), presented by Shinbyuyin in 1768 and dropped by the English in the Rangoon River, being removed and replaced in January 1826 by the Burmese. J. E. Alexander saw and described the operations, *Travels from India to England*, 1827, p. 46.' This is the passage recently quoted in our columns from Alexander's book.

[1] This letter is not now forthcoming.

Our correspondent continues : " I went into the subject of Burmese bells some time ago to settle a question of the Burmese method of gauging weight and the following quotations may be of use to those who have libraries and wish to read up details on this interesting subject. Laurie's *Second Burmese War, Rangoon*, p. 126 ; Bigandet's *Gaudama*, Trubner's edition, vol. 1, p. 74, foot-note ; Malcom's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 247 ; Yule's *Ava*, p. 171 ; Strettell's *Ficus Elastica*, p. 48 ; Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans*, p. 138, but this last only describes a fabulous bell at Zimme said to weigh 183 tons. The Myingun Bell near Mandalay weighs only 80 tons."

This was followed in the *Weekly Budget* (2nd May 1896) by a letter from Maulmein, dated 27th April 1896, by a correspondent, who signed himself " Another Old Resident : " "I am glad to learn, from your issue of 24th instant, that Mr. Hesketh Biggs has inserted in his book a correction of the statement about the sinking of the great bell in the Rangoon river. Shway Yoe[2] should make a similar correction of his errors. By following Captain Forbes he has created confusion. In chapter XV on Pagodas, he says that the Maha Ganda, the bell which the English attempted to take away after the second Burmese war, 'was presented by King Tharrawaddy in 1840 on the occasion of a state visit to Rangoon and the *pyah.*' No bell was presented in 1840, but one was cast, by order of the King, in February 1843, particulars of which were given in the extracts from the *Maulmain Chronicle* which I sent with my letter of 20th February.[3] The Maha Ganda was cast some years before. The inscription on it states the date, the weight and dimensions, viz., "Year of the establishment of religion 2322, era 1140,[4] 11th day of the waxing of the moon Ta-bo-dwe, after the 3rd watch, the position of the stars being propitious, with metal weighing 15,555 *piek-tha,* diameter 5 cubits, height 7 cubits 12 inches, circumference 15 cubits, thickness 12 inches, the bell is cast, and to the Monument of the Divine Hair the King presents an act of homage.' The bell was ordered to be cast in 1138 (B.E.), and the casting was only completed in 1140. The Editor of the *Chronicle* said in the issue of 29th March 1843, that the former date was " about seventy years ago in the reign of Tsenkoo, grandson of Aloungpara," which would be about A.D. 1773, The correspondent you quote in your issue of 17th March, says that the Maha Ganda was presented by Shinbyuyin in 1768. Which is correct ?[5]

" The weight stated in the inscription is equal to about 25 tons, your correspondent puts it down as 22, and states that the one presented by Tharrawaddy in 1842 (?) weighs 9 tons. There is evidently some confusion here, as Tharrawaddy's bell is the larger of the two and was computed by the Editor of the *Maulmain Chronicle* at about 50 tons. The weight given by Captain Forbes, Shway Yoe, and Bishop Bigandet, (*Life of Gaudama*, vol. I note on page 74) of 94,682 lbs. refers to the bell cast for Tharrawaddy in 1843 (the Bishop erroneously says 1842) and not to the Maha Ganda.

" It is by the mixing of these two bells that the error has arisen. In the weight given by Mr. Hesketh Biggs of 25,533 viss, there must be one figure wrong, as the inscription says 15,555, which would make about 25, not 41 tons.

" I have a photograph of the bell which was removed in 1825, taken in February this year. It corresponds with the description given by the writer of *Two Years in Ava* in having two griffins on the handle. The rim has the broken appearance it had when I first saw it, otherwise the bell does not appear to be changed.

" To set the question of weights and dimensions at rest, some one, with a competent knowledge, should measure the bells and calculate their weights."

On 15th May, 1896, a letter from myself to Sir Frank McCarthy produced the following paragraph in the *Rangoon Gazette*. "A correspondent who is perhaps our greatest living

2 Sir George Scott, *The Burman*.

3 Not now forthcoming.

4 B.E. = A.D. 1778.

5 The Inscription on the Bell gives A.D. 1778.

authority on such matters, sends us some very interesting information on the point raised in these columns some time since as to the weight of the great bell. The notes, he says, were prepared for quite another purpose originally. At any rate they serve to show where Forbes and Shway Yoe got their information. That the old priests of Burma intended to calculate weights in the old familiar Indian style of *pala* and *tula*, whatever weights they meant by these denominations, is clear from the statement in the Kalyani Inscriptions that King Dhammacheti presented to the *chetiya* at Tirumpanagara, that is, to the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, 'a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 *tulas*.' Taking the *tula* at about 145 ounces troy, that is, about ten pounds avoirdupois, we get the weight of this bell to be about 11-2/5 tons :—a weight, it may be said, more than doubled by the Mahaghanta, or Great Bell, of the same Pagoda, cast by King Tharawadi in 1842 and usually said to weigh over 25 tons ; while King Bodawphaya's (1781—1819) bell at Myingun weighs about eighty tons (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 219).

"King Dhammacheti's bell, the Trustees of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda say, never reached the Pagoda, having been dropped in the stream near Rangoon, known as the Pazundaung creek. It may, however, be there nevertheless, as the second large bell in the North East corner of the Pagoda platform was the great bell of the war of 1824 and was then estimated to weigh 18,000 lbs. or about eight tons. (See Lawrie, *Second Burmese War*, p. 126).

"There is a valuable note on the two great bells in Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, Oriental Series Edition, volume I, p. 74. The Bishop makes the weight of the Mahaghanta to be 94,682 pounds plus 25 per cent. to be added for copper, gold and silver thrown into the mould by the devout during the process of casting. This gives us two weights of about 42⅓ tons and 50½ tons respectively. The Bishop also says that the Myingun bell is supposed to exceed 200,000 lbs. in weight, *i.e.*, more than 89 tons. The measurements he gives of the two bells [at Rangoon] show that his statement of 42 tons for the weight of the Mahaghanta must be nearer the truth than the usual 25 tons. Other references to the subject will be found in Yule's *Ava*, p. 171 ; Strettell's *Ficus Elastica*, p. 48 ; Malcolm's *Travels*, II, 247."

Our correspondent, commenting on the hopelessness of collecting local historical information accurately, says : "I may mention that my attempts at finding out the history of the lost bell above-mentioned have resulted in these astounding statements : 'In 1468 Dhammacheti had the bell cast at the Pagoda itself, but before he could put it up, Maung Zinga (Philippe de Brito) removed it in a steamer (*sic*) when it got lost in the Pazundaung Creek.' But Dhammacheti flourished 1460—1491 A.D. and Maung Zinga was in Burma 1600—1613 A.D."

A NOTE ON QUEEN MINAKSHI OF MADURA.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A.

A COPPER-PLATE record of Queen Mînâkshî, the last of the Nâyaka rulers of Madura, came up recently for my examination. It is composed in Telugu, the court-language of the *Nâyakas*, and is engraved also in Telugu characters. The sign-manual of the Queen—'*Mînâkshamma-vrâlu*' is incised in the fourth line on the second side of the plate.

The record is dated on the 12th day of the month of Mâgha, in the cyclic year Kâḷayukti corresponding to Śaka 1660, which was a Friday with Punarvasu-nakshatra and whose English equivalent was February 9, A.D. 1739. It registers that the Queen was pleased to make a gift to a Muhammadan priest named Imâm-Sâhibu of a piece of land having the sowing capacity of one *kôṭṭai* of seed, in Śîvalappêri *alias* Muddu-Vêṅkatalakshmîpati-Bhûpâlasamudram in the Nâṅgunêri taluk of the Tinnevelly district. This district has been described in this document as having belonged to the Tiruvaḍi-râjya (Travancore) forming part of the Trichinopoly-Madhura-samsthânam, which had been bestowed on the Nâyaka rulers by their overlords, the Vijayanagara emperors.

The genealogy furnished in this document covers only three generations, namely, Chokkanâtha-Nâyaka of the Kâśyapa-gôtra,—a descendant of Viśvanâtha-Nâyaka, the origina founder of the Madura Nâyaka dynasty—his son Raṅga-Muttuvîrappa, and his son Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanâtha. Mînâkshî was the queen of this last-mentioned ruler, and she occupied the Madura throne on the death of her husband early in A.D. 1732, with headquarters at Trichinopoly.

The importance of this record lies in the fact that it mentions Queen Mînâkshî to be alive in February 1739, whereas either 1736 [1] or 1737 [2] has hitherto been accepted to have been the year of her death, or rather suicide. The *Maduraittala-varalâṛu* [3] fixes her demise three months later than the date of this Telugu record, and as there are no reasons for suspecting the genuineness of this latter, the *Varalâṛu's* account appears to receive fresh confirmation. A few other Nâyaka rulers and Sêtupati chiefs are also known to have made similar [4] donations to Muhammadan mosques; but this gift of the Nâyaka queen may have the additional significance, that it was due to her subservience to her captor Chanda-Sâhib. [5]

The prefatory portion of this copper-plate record is subjoined :

Svasti Śrî-Vijayâbhyudaya Śâlîvâhana Śakâbdambbulu 1660 Prabhavâdi samvvatsarambbulu mîdaṭan-agunêṭi Kâḷayukti-nâma samvvatsaram makha śu. 12 Śukravâramunnu punarvasû-nakshatramunnu śubhayôga śubhakaraṇamunnu kûḍina śubha-dinamanddu śrîmat Kâśyapa-gôtra-jâtulaina Madhura-samsthânâdhipati Viśvanâtha-Nâyanayyavâri vamśamandu jatulaina Chokkanâtha-Nâyanayyavâri pautrulaina Raṅggakṛishṇa Muddu-Vîrappa-Nâyanayyavâri putrulaina Vijayaraṅgga-Chokkanâtha-Nâyanayyavari paṭṭamahishi-aina śri-Mînâshammagâru pakiri-guruvulu Imân-Sâyibuku ichchinatâmra-śâsana kramam eṭlannanu Śriman mahâmaṇḍalêśvara mahârâja-râja-makuṭôpalâḷita akhanḍḍita-sâmmrâjya-lakshmînivâsa bhûtadêva mahârâjulaina Śrî-Râyaladêvunivâru mâku pâlimchchi ichchina Tiruchanâpaḷḷe-Madhura-samsthânamamddu Tiruvaḍirâjyâna Tinnevellilo chêrina Śîvalappêriki pratinâmamaina Muddu-Vêṅkaṭalakshmîpatibhûpâla-samudramulô Pedda-cheruvu kindda . . . vittanam, kôṭa inni etc.

---

1 *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (R. Satyanatha, 1924), p. 234.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1917, p. 213.

3 *Mudaraittala-varalâṛu*, (Sangam edition), p. 6. Also *Nayaka History, op. cit.*, p. 378.

4 Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, vol II.

5 It may be noted that six years later in Śaka 1666 (A.D. 1745) Sheik Âhmad Kabîr, son of this Imâm-sâhib was the recipient of some gifts from Mâfûz-Khân. The Tinnevelly District came to be considered at this time as the southern governorship of the Ârkâḍu-Trichinopoly viceroyalty, which was subordinate to the Hyderabad Dominions.

MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

FROM THE COLLECTION MADE BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

(*Continued from page* 158.)

Muhammadan Songs.

1. I am his devotee.

Sung by 'Abdu'l-Ghanî of Dehrâ. Recorded by Khalîl of Dehrâ.

Text.

1.

Apne piyâ kî maiṅ jogin banî.
Apne saṅwariyâ kî maiṅ jogin banî.
Apne bâlamâ kî maiṅ jogin banî.
Apne pyare kî maiṅ jogin banî.

2.

Tâgâ ho, to toṛ duṅ ; re, prît na toṛî jâyâ.
Aur kâghaz ho, to bâṅch luṅ ; re, karan na bâṅchâ jâyâ.
Apne pûjâ kî maiṅ jogin banî.

3.

Sun le, ai mâtî ke deote, tu merî ardâs.
Pûjâ milan kî rât hai : tu jaliyo sârî rât.
Apne piyâ kî maiṅ jogin banî.

Translation.

1.

I have become the devotee of my love.
I have become the devotee of the swarthy one.
I have become the devotee of my husband.
I have become the devotee of my beloved.

2.

If it be a thread, I can break it ; but oh, the thread of love is not to be broken
Or if it be a paper, I can read it ; but oh, my fate is not to be read.
I have become the devotee of my love.

3.

Hear, oh earthen lamp : hear my prayer.
To night I meet my husband : do thou burn all night.
I have become the devotee of my love.

2. Bedecked as a bridegroom comes our dearest Ahmad.

Recorded by Zâkir 'Ali, teacher in the Town School, Itâwâ.

Text.

Banâ banâyâ dil Ahmad pyârâ.

1.

Haqq kî Dargâh se mâ-bâp ne pyârâ pâyâ.
Fâtmâ pusht pai ; Husnain haiṅ dâeṅ bâeṅ.
Mere bâṛe pai rahai, mere naushe pai rahai, sadâ Khuda ka sâyâ.
Banâ banâyâ dil Aḥmad pyârâ.

2.

Banî Khâtûn, banî dulhâ, bane Khudâ bane.
Seharâ Jabarâîl jo lâye tum ko mubârak howai.
Banâ banâyâ dil Ahmad pyârâ.

3.

Jab kî tashrîf Nabî le chale maharâ mahrâj,
Malak aur hûr ne khushî hoke badhâwâ gâyâ.
Banâ banâyâ dil Aḥmad pyârâ.

Translation.

Bedecked as a Bridegroom comes our dearest Aḥmad.

1.

His parents obtained the beloved from the Court of God :
Fatima behind him and the Husnain[87] on his right and left.
Upon my home and upon all of us may the shadow of God remain.
Bedecked as a Bridegroom comes our dearest Aḥmad.

2.

Bedecked is Khâtûn,[88] bedecked the bride, bedecked the people of God.
May the garland of Gabriel which you have brought be a blessing.
Bedecked as a Bridegroom comes our dearest Aḥmad.

3.

When the holy Prophet took his way to the bride's house,
Happy angels and fairies sang songs of joy.
Bedecked as a Bridegroom comes our dearest Aḥmad.

3. My God and my Muhammad will come.

Recorded by Zâkir 'Ali, teacher in the Town School, Itâwâ.

Text.

Allâ mere âwaiṅge : Muḥammad âwaiṅge.

1.

Age Gaṅgâ thâm lî : Jamnâ hiloreṅ leyâ.
Bich kharî Bîbî Fâtimâ ; ummat balaiṅya leyâ.
Allâh mere âwaiṅge : Muḥammad âwaiṅge.

2.

Utarâ pasînâ nûr kâ huâ chamelî phûl.
Mâliniyâṅ guṅthai sehrâ dulah bane Rasûl.
Allâh mere âwaiṅge : Muḥammad âwaiṅge,

3.

Merî Murâd mujhko milai Shahe Panj tân.
Sadqa Hasan Husên kâ aur shair Khudâ kâ.
Allâh mere âwaiṅge : Muḥammad âwaiṅge.

Translation.

My God and my Muḥammad will come.

1.

The Ganges stopped its flow : the Jamnâ raised its waves.
Between them stood Bîbî Fâtima, and the followers (Muslim) admired her.
My God and my Muḥammad will come.

2.

The drops of her perspiration which fell were turned to jasmine flowers.
The florists' wives were making garlands as the Prophet became a bridegroom.
My God and my Muḥammad will come.

3.

O ye Five Royal Personages, give me my desire.
Our offering is to Hasan and Husain and our prayer is to God.
My God and my Muḥammad will come[89].

[87] The two Hasan : Hasan and Husain. [88] Khâtûn is the name of the bride's maid-servant.

[89] It will be observed that the Muḥammadans are here following the Hindu custom of filling their marriage songs with allusions to their religious stories.

4. Bring me Garlands of flowers.

Recorded by Zâkir 'Ali, teacher in the Town School, Itâwâ.

Text.

Harîyâle hamare bane ke luje serâ guth lâv, merî Maliniyâ.
Sone ke sahrâ guthâ, morî Maliniyâ, aur koîn kî kaliyân.
Hariyâle hamare bane kî lujê saharâ guth lâv, merî Maliniyâ.

Translation.

O Mâlinî, bring garlands of fresh flowers and leaves for my bridegroom.
String the garlands with golden thread. my Malinî, and use flowers of water-lilies.
O Mâlinî, bring garlands of fresh flowers and leaves for my bridegroom.

5. Cut down the Mountain Bamboo, Father.

Recorded by Zâkir 'Ali, teacher in the Town School, Itâwâ.

Text.

1.

Parbat bâns katá, more babul.
Nikâ manṛawâ chhâv re.
Haryâle kâ manṛawâ chhâv re.

2.

Mâthî kâ, bâbul, tikâ dîjo. aur motiyâ sî zevare.
Parbat bâns katâ, more bâbul.
Nikâ mânyâ manḍyâ chhâv re.
Haryâle kâ manḍawâ chhâv re.

3.

Nâk ko. bâbul. besar dîjo, aur chunniyon se zeware.
Kânon ko. bâbul. bâli dijo. aur patton se zeware.
Gale ko, bâbul. hasalî dîjo, har hamelo zeware.
Bahon ko, bâbul. niwal dijo. anwat bichhuon zeware.

4.

Shâh ko, re bâbul, ghoṛâ, kamdhenu, chhoharâ.
Ham ko, re bâbul. dola dîjo, âwai pâchhen baniyân.
Ham ko, re bâbul. itna dîjo, mehar rajon merâ sânwarâ.
Ham ko, re bâbul. wo ghar dîjo, sonâ ralai tarâzû.

5.

Parbat bâns katî, mere bâbul.
Nikâ manḍaya châwa re.
Haryâle kâ manḍwa chhâv re.

Translation.

1.

Cut down the mountain bamboo. father.
Make a shed for the marriage.
Make a shed of green bamboos.

2.

Mark his forehead with the *tikâ* father, give him jewels of pearl,
Cut down the mountain bamboo, father.
Make a shed for the mariage.
Make a shed of green bamboos.

3.

Give me a *besar*[90] for my nose, father, and jewels of gems.
Give me earrings, father, and jewels of gold-leaf.
Give me a necklace, father, and a jewelled garland.
Give me for my arms, father, *niwal*, *anwat* and *bichhuâ*.

4.

Give to my king, father, a horse and kine and calves.
Give me a palanquin, father, and maids to follow me.
Give me all this, father, and the *mahar*[91] of my dark bridegroom.
Give me, father, to that household which weighs its gold in scales.

5.

Cut down the mountain bamboo, father.
Make a shed for the marriage.
Make a shed of green bamboos.

BOOK-NOTICES.

DRAVIDIAN INDIA, by T. R SESHA AIYANGAR, M A., M.R.A.S , F.R.H.S.

The problem of Dravidian History has not yet been solved satisfactorily by any scholar. Mr. Sesha Aiyangar makes an attempt to unravel some of the knotty points in that problem. To be the author of a treatise on Indian History (though Dravidian) a good knowledge of Sanskrit and Philology coupled with critical and historical acumen is necessary. The spelling of certain very common Sanskrit words in English, as the following, bears sufficient testimony that the qualifications of the author are not quite adequate. Mr. Aiyangar writes :—

Kishkinda	for	*Kiṣkindha*
Dundhubi	,,	*Dundubhi*
Botham	,,	*Bodham*
Vivekanandha	,,	*Vivekânanda*
Subramanya	,,	*Subrahmaṇya*
Ashwathama	,,	*Aśvathâman*
Upam	,,	*Yûpam*
Ukam	,,	*Yûkam*, etc.

These instances are chosen at random and there are many more of such instances.

Our author fails to recognize the importance of Philology in the reconstruction of history and his want of acquaintance with it is clearly manifested by some of his remarks. It has been definitely proved once for all by Fortunatov, a French philologist, that the Aryan cerebrals are the natural outcome of the coalescence of the dental and the lingual ḷ. Mr. Aiyangar yet clings to the exploded theory of Bishop Caldwell, who traces them to Dravidian influences. Again, he holds the view that the 'uncultured Vedic tongue' resulted in the 'development of classical Sanskrit,' though scholars like Grierson and others have proved that classical Sanskrit had a collateral development with Vedic Sanskrit. It is surprising to note the confidence with which he asserts the theory that the influence classical Tamil has exercised on the formation and development of both the Vedic and classical Sanskrit is gradually coming to be recognised by students of Indian philology.

On page 64 of his book, he refers to the conclusions arrived at by Mr. R. Swaminatha Iyer, which 'knock the bottom out' of the theory of Dravidian influence over Sanskrit. Mr. Sesha Aiyangar shows himself to be neither willing to accept the views of Mr. Swaminatha Iyer, nor to offer a satisfactory explanation himself. The mere quotation of Pandit Savarairoyan's views is no answer to the questions raised by Mr. Swaminatha Iyer. Moreover, some of the derivations given by the author make curious reading ; for instance, the derivations of :—

Sanskrit.		Tamil.
kârmâra	from	கருமான்
mukta	,,	முத்து
vrîhi	,,	அரிசி

These are typical and they do credit to the enthusiasm of our author for everything Tamil.

One interesting feature of the book is that it is a catalogue of quotations from various sources, selected indiscriminately, without reference to the matter, whether it be spurious or otherwise. Evidently he is labouring under the superstition that everything that appears in print is authoritative beyond dispute. In one place he remarks that Pâṇini mentions 64 grammarians and that Indra is one among them. As a matter of fact, neither does Pâṇini mention 64 grammarians, nor is Indra one of the grammarians mentioned by him. In certain places the author acknowledges the sources of his information and in many places he does not. It is hardly necessary to say more. It would be well if Mr. Sesha Aiyangar could make sure of his facts before launching into print—leaving aside his arguments.

T. R. C.

90 A Muhammadan woman's nose-ornament of gold studded with gems.

91 The *mehar* is the dowry, which every bridegroom contracts to give his bride: generally of a value far beyond his means. It is this dowry contract which binds the bridegroom to his bride.

The Taj and Its Environments, with 8 illustrations from Photographs and 4 plans, by Maulvi Moin-ud-din Ahmad, with a Foreword, by Khan Sahib Saiyad Abu Mohammad, M.A., Agra, 1924.

This is a second and revised edition of a useful hand-book to the famous Taj Mahal, which visitors to that peerless monument of Mughal architecture will do well to study. For not only does it contain succinct accounts of the famous historical figures connected with the tomb and its neighbourhood, but it also supplies many details of the monument itself, culled from original sources, which are not to be found in the ordinary guide book. The opening pages are devoted to a short biographical account of Shâh Jahân's queen, whose mental equipment and physical beauty were in no way inferior to those of her famous aunt, Nûr Jahân; and the author incidentally endeavours to disprove the view that Shâh Jahân was guilty of bigotry and that Mumtâz Mahâl herself was in great measure responsible for this alleged shortcoming of the Emperor. While I am disposed to agree with the author that no blame on this score can attach to the queen, I hesitate to accept his statement that "Shâh Jahân dealt with men of other religions as kindly as Jahangir and Akbar." This assertion strikes me as too sweeping, for it runs counter to the statement of that careful historian, Pringle Kennedy, to the effect that the reign of Shâh Jahân offers the first indication of the abandonment of the policy of toleration, devised by Akbar and followed by Jahangir. There is little reason to doubt that, not long after the death of Mumtâz Mahâl, the emperor ordered the destruction of all temples throughout the empire, particularly in Benares, which had been begun but were still unfinished. The order could not be fully carried out: but its promulgation is nevertheless indicative of a decided relapse from the wise tolerance of the previous reigns.

In his discussion of the planning and construction of the Taj Mahal the author seems to stand on firmer ground. He gives from original sources the names of the chief architects, masons, artists etc., employed in designing and constructing this marvellous building, and the salaries which each of them drew, and thereby shows that the Taj Mahal owes nothing to European influence, but was purely the work of Indian, Persian, Arabian and Turkish craftsmen. The actual designer of this architectural masterpiece was one Isa Afandi, whom the author describes as a Turko-Indian; and his contention that the Italian, Geronimo Veroneo, had no part or share in the design, seems to me to rest on a basis of solid fact. This decision, therefore, disposes of the late Dr. Vincent Smith's view that the Taj is "the product of a combination of European and Asiatic genius". He disproves even more clearly the view that the Frenchman, Austin de Bordeaux, played a part in the decoration of the Taj. This erroneous opinion rests primarily upon Sleeman's misreading of *Ustân* for *Ustâd* in the Persian account, and his mistake and his consequent blunders have in the past misled many writers. Mr. Moin-ud-din Ahmad has done well to lay the error finally to rest.

The first half of this book is concerned with the structural details and measurements of the tomb, and its interior arrangement and workmanship; and gives the text and an English rendering of the epigraphs in various parts of the building; while the later pages are devoted to a description of the *Jilo-khâna* and other auxillary buildings, and to a brief account of the notable persons, *e.g.*, Sati-un-nissa Khânam and Sarhindi Begam, whose tombs lie within the precincts. The author also investigates the question of the endowment assigned by Shâh Jahân for the maintenance of the Taj, which apparently consisted of the revenues of 30 villages, supplemented by receipts from shops, bazaars and *sarais*. The gardens and buildings in the neighbourhood of the tomb are noticed, as also are the chief landmarks in the environs of Agra. Finally, an appendix containing descriptive accounts of the Taj Mahal by various authors of note, including Shâh Jahân's own Persian verses on his wife's tomb, completes a careful and succinct summary of all facts and details of the history, construction, character, and cost of this priceless memorial of Asiatic art.

S. M. Edwardes.

Inquiries into the popular Religions of Ceylon, Pt. I. Singhalese Amulets, Talismans and Spells, by Dr. Otakar Pertold. Prague, Caroline University.

The above, at any rate, is the translation of the original title which runs: "S. Doc. Ph., Dr. Otakar Pertold, Príspevky ke Studiu Lidovych Nabozenstir Ceylonskych: Cāst první; Simhalskē Amulety, Talísmany ā Rikādlā." The whole fasciculus is in Czekh and therefore useless to Indian scholars, and most English ones as well. This is a great pity, as it is clearly an earnest and useful study of a very interesting subject. At p. 67 is an English summary, which only enhances our regret that the whole of it is not in English. Perhaps some day the author may be induced to write it in that language.

R. C. Temple.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

1. Nitya.

THIS is a very familiar word that occurs about thirty-eight times in the RV. and very frequently in the other Vedic texts and in later literature. The commentators, Indian as well as European, are at one in interpreting this word as (1) *svîya, sahaja*, own, and (2) *dhruva*, lasting, constant, perpetual, uninterrupted, imperishable, eternal, etc. In assuming the second of the above two meanings for this word in the RV, the commentators have been no doubt guided by the fact that the word *nitya* has that meaning in later texts. But as a matter of fact, this latter meaning is not appropriate and does not yield good sense in a number of passages—for instance, in 1, 66, 1 and 1, 185, 2 where *nityaḥ sûnuḥ* is explained by Sâyaṇa as *dhruvaḥ âtmajaḥ*, and by Ludwig as 'ein überlebender Sohn' (1, 66, 1) and 'lebender Sohn' (1, 185, 2); in 1, 166, 2 where *nityaṃ sûnum* is translated by Ludwig as 'einen nicht absterbenden Sohn'; in AV. 7, 109 and Sâṅkh. Gr. S. 3, 2, 6 and 8 where the expression *nityavatsâ dhenuḥ* is explained as 'cow with constant calf' by Whitney (AV. Translation) and 'unceasingly fertile cow' by Oldenberg (*SBE*., 29, 93); and in RV. 10, 39, 14 where *nitya* is found as the *tertium comparationis* in a simile.

The other meaning 'own' is still less appropriate here; and it therefore becomes clear that in these and other similar passages the word *nitya* has a meaning different from the two mentioned above.

What this meaning is, can be found out with the help of 1, 66, 1; 1, 166, 2 and 10, 39, 14, all which verses contain similes with *nitya* as *tertium comparationis*. In the first of these verses it is said that Agni is *nitya* as a son (*sûnu*); in the second, that honey (*madhu*) is *nitya* as a son (*sûnu*); and in the third, that a hymn of praise (*stoma*) is *nitya* as a son (*sûnu*). A comparison therefore of the adjectives which these words—*sûnu, madhu, stoma* and *agni*—receive in the RV., will show what characteristics are common to the things denoted by them and will thus determine the sense of *nitya*.

Of these words, *sûnu* receives the following adjectives—*trayayâyya*, priya, *marjya, vijâvan, śuci, suśeva, hṛdya* and *nitya*; and *madhu*, the following,—*adhigartya, aśnâ pinaddha, kâmya, gorjîka, ghṛta, câru, tridhâtu, divya, daivya, pakva, parishikta, pushkare nishikta, pratibhṛta*, priya, *madira, vâraṇa. sâragha. sukshaya. suta, somya, spârha* and *nitya*; while *stoma* has the following adjectives—*akshitoti, agriya, antama, antara, apûrvya, amanda, amṛta, uruvyac, etaśa, eva, kâmya, kratumân, gîyamâna, gîr* (?), *dṛśîka, dyutadyâman, dyumnin, dhanasâ, namasvân, navajâta, navya, nûtana, purutama, pûta, pûrvya*, preshṭha, *madhumattama, madhyama, manasâ vacyamâna. mandin. mahat. ratnadhâtama. rudriya* (?), *vanîvan. vâjayan, vâhishṭha, vidushâ ardhya. śantama, śasyamâna, śukra, śuci, śûsha. śûshya. satrâjit, sâdhu, sidhra, suvṛkti* (?), *havishmân, hṛdâ tashṭa, hṛdispṛk*, and also *nitya*.

It will be seen that the only adjective (besides *nitya*) common to the three words *sûnu, madhu* and *stoma* is *priya* (in the case of *stoma*, we find instead of *priya* its superlative form *preshṭha*) and the only characteristic that is common to the things denoted by these words is *priyatva*. *Priya* is used as an epithet of *agni* also in 1. 143. 1 : 5, 23, 3 ; and 6, 1, 6, while Agni, further, is called *priyâṇâṃ preshṭhaḥ* once and *purupriyaḥ* many times. Thus the only adjective (beside *nitya* whose meaning we are engaged in finding out) and the only characteristic that is common to the above-mentioned four words and the things denoted by them, is *priya* and *priyatva*;[1] which makes it probable that *nitya* means *priya* in the above passages. The probability, in this instance, is converted into certainty by the parallelism of *priya* and *nitya* in 1, 91, 6c: *priyástotro vánaspátiḥ* and 9, 12, 7a : *nítyastotro vánaspátiḥ*.

[1] This seems to have been felt by Grassmann also who in 1, 66, 1, has translated *nítyo ná sûnúḥ* as 'wie eigener Sohn, lieb.' Sâyaṇa too, similarly explains *nítyaṃ ná sûnúm* in 1, 166, 2, as *nityaṃ aurasaṃ priyaṃ putram iva*.

Nitya thus means *priya*, dear, pleasing, beloved, favourite. It has this meaning in the following passages :

1, 73, 4 : *táṃ trâ náro dáma â' nityam iddhám*
ágne sacanta kshitíshu dhruvâ'su |
ádhi dyumnáṃ ní dadhur bhû'ry asmin
bhávâ viśvâ'yur dharúṇo rayîṇâ'ṃ ||

' Men have worshipped in their firm dwellings, O Agni, thee that art dear and flaming ; they have placed much splendour in him. Do thou become the bearer of riches, the vivifier of all". Compare the many passages where Agni is called *priya*, namely, 1, 26, 7 : 1, 75, 4 ; 1. 91, 3 ; 1. 128, 7-8 ; 1, 143, 1 ; 2, 4, 3 ; 5, 1, 9 ; 5, 23, 3 ; 6, 1. 6 ; 6, 2, 7 ; 6, 16. 42 ; 6, 48, 1 ; 7, 16, 1 : 8, 84, 1 : and also 6, 15. 6 (*priyaṃ-priyam*) ; 1, 186, 3 and 8, 84, 1 (*preshṭham*) ; and 8, 103, 1 (*priyâṇâṃ preshṭham*) ; compare also the passages where he receives the epithet *purupriya* (see Grassmann, *s.v.*) and *mandra* (see *ibid.*, s.v.).

7, 1, 2 : *tám agním áste vásavo ny ṛ̀ṇvan*
supraticákshaṃ ávase kútas' cit |
dakshâ'yyo yó dáma â'sa nítyaḥ ||

" The bright ones, for their protection from everything, set him down in the dwelling, Agni, beautiful to look at, who sat down in the house, dear and capable." The verse occurs in the first hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala whose authorship is ascribed to the Vasishṭhas ; and as the word *vasishṭha* is the superlative of the word *vasu*, Sâyaṇa is perhaps right in saying that the word *vasavaḥ* here refers to the Vasishṭhas.

3. 25. 5 : *ágne apâ'ṃ sám idhyase duroṇé*
nítyaḥ sûno sahaso jâtavedaḥ |
sadhásthâni maháyamâna ûtî'

" Thou, the glorifier of dwelling-houses with thy protection, the beloved, art kindled in the abode of the waters, O Agni Jâtavedas, son of strength."

5. 1. 7 : *prá nú tyáṃ vípraṃ adhvaréshu sâdhúm*
agníṃ hótâram îḷate námobhiḥ |
â' yás tatâ'na ródasî ṛténa
nityaṃ mṛjanti vâjínaṃ ghṛténa ||

" They worship him with adorations, Agni, the wise, the *hotṛ*, the ornament of the sacrifices, who extended the two worlds according to divine ordinance. They adorn (him), the beloved (like a) race-horse, with *ghṛta*."

10, 12. 2 : *devó devâ'n paribhû'r ṛténa*
váhâ no havyáṃ prathamáś cikitvâ'n |
dhûmáketuḥ samídhâ bhâ'ṛjîko
mandró hótâ nítyo vâcâ' yájîyân ||

" The god (*sc.* Agni) encompasses the gods ; bear thou, (O Agni), our offering (to the gods) according to divine ordinance, thou that art knowing, that art the first, smoke-bannered and with brightness as thy ornament (when kindled) with fuel, the pleasing beloved *hotṛ* that worshippest (the gods) better (than human *hotṛs*) with thy voice." Compare 6, 1, 6 : *saparyéṇyaḥ sá priyó vikshv àgnír hótâ mandró ní shasâdâ yájîyân* | *táṃ trâ vayáṃ dáma â' dîdivâ'ṃsam úpa jñubâ'dho námasâ sadema* and 1. 26, 7 : *priyó no astu viśpátir hótâ mandró várenyaḥ* where the expression *priyo mandro hotâ* corresponds to *nityo mandro hotâ* in this verse. Compare also 1. 44, 3 : *adyâ' dûtáṃ vṛṇîmahe vásum agníṃ purupriyám* | *dhûmáketuṃ bhâ'ṛjîkaṃ vyùshṭishu yajñâ'nâm adhvaraśriyam* ||

1. 66. 1 : *rayír ná citrâ' sû'ro ná saṃdṛ́g*
âyúr ná prâṇó nítyo ná sûnúḥ |

" (Agni), brilliant like wealth, (effulgent) like the sun in appearance, vivifier like *prâna* (the life-breath), dear like a son." Compare 1. 69, 5 : *putró ná jâtó raṇvó duroṇé* " pleasing in the house like a son that is born ".

3, 15, 2 : *tvám no asyá' usháso vyùshṭau*
tvám sû'ra údite bodhi gopá'h |
jánmeva nityam tánayam jushasva
stómam me agne tanvá' sujâta ||

"Become our protector when this dawn dawns and the sun rises; cherish, O Agni well-born of thy own self, this (dear) praise of mine as a father (cherishes) his dear son." I follow Sâyaṇa in understanding *janman* as father in spite of its being accented on the root-syllable; compare 7, 54, 2 : *pitéva putrá'n práti no jushasva* and 10, 22, 3 : *pitá' putrám iva priyám.* Compare also 5, 42, 2 and 10, 119, 4 *putrám iva priyám.* To *nityam stomam* here corresponds *priyam brahma* in 1, 75, 2; 5, 42, 2; 5, 85, 1; *priyam manma* in 6, 68, 9; 10, 54, 6; 10, 96, 11; 2, 41, 18; *priyâ manîshâ* in 6, 67, 2; *preshṭhâ matiḥ* in 7, 88, 1; *preshṭhâ sushṭutiḥ* in 4, 43, 1; *preshṭham namaḥ* in 7, 36, 5; and *preshṭhah stomah* in 7, 34, 14; *mandrâ gîh* in 7, 18, 3 and *mandrâ hṛdaḥ* in 8, 43, 31.

10, 39, 14 : *etám vâm stómam aśvinav akarmá'*
'takshâma bhṛ'gavo ná rátham |
ny àmṛkshâma yóshaṇâm ná márye
nítyam ná sûnúm tánayam dádhânâḥ ||

"We have made this praise for you, O Aśvins; we have cut them (into shape) as Bhṛgus a chariot. Holding it (carefully) as (parents do) a dear son, we have polished and embellished it as (one adorns) a woman for a young man."

1, 185, 2 : *bhû'rim dvé ácarantî cárantam*
padvántam gárbham apádî dadhâte |
nítyam ná sûnúm pitrór upásthe
dyâ'vâ rákshatam pṛthivî no ábhvât ||

"The two, unmoving and footless, bear much offspring that has feet and moves. Like a dear son in the lap of his parents—protect us, O Heaven and Earth, from the evil being." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse; the meaning is, 'O Heaven and Earth, protect us from the evil being and give us shelter as parents shelter a dear son in their lap and ward off from him all harm.' Compare 6, 75, 4 : *mâtéva putrám bibhṛtâm upásthe* | *ápa śátrûn vidhyatâm samvidâné.*

7, 1, 21 : *tvám agne suhávo raṇvásamdṛk*
sudîtî' sûno sahaso didîhi |
mâ' tvé sácâ tánaye nitya â' dhaṅ
mâ' vîró asmán náryo ví dâsît ||

"Thou, O Agni, art easy to invoke and of pleasing appearance: shine with bright gleams, O son of strength. Let not evil befall our dear son (when he is) with thee: may we not want a valorous son."

1, 166, 2 : *nítyam ná sûnúm mádhu bibhrata úpa*
krî'ḷanti krîḷâ' vidátheshu ghṛ'shvayaḥ |
nákshanti rudrâ' ávasâ namasvínam
ná mardhanti svátavaso havishkṛ'tam ||

"Carrying honey that is dear as a son, the swift terrible (Maruts) bound forward in battles. The sons of Rudra come with protection to the adorer; they, strong of themselves, do not injure him that offers oblations (to them)." The 'honey' (*madhu*) that the Maruts are here represented as carrying is without doubt the same with which they besprinkle the earth; compare 5, 54, 8 : *pínvanty útsam yád inâ'so ásvaran vy ùndanti pṛthivî'm mádhvo ándhasâ.* *Madhu* receives the epithet *priya* in eight passages; see Grassmann, s. v. *priyam* (n.); *cp.* also *kâmyam madhu* in 9, 72, 2. With the first pâda, *nityam na sûnum madhu bibhrata upa*, compare *nityam na sûnum tanayam dadhânâḥ* in 10, 39, 14 explained above.

7. 1. 12 : *yám aśvî' nítyam úpa yâ'ti yajñáṃ*
prajá'vantaṃ svapatyáṃ ksháyaṃ naḥ |
svájanmanâ śéshasâ vâvṛdhânám ||

This verse is obscure ; I understand it as a continuation of the preceding verse, 'May we not sit down in the empty dwelling of men ; may we not sit round thee without son, without offspring ; (may we sit) in houses full of children, O thou that makest houses to prosper ' and translate : " (May we sit down in) our dear dwelling with good offspring, with children, which is prospering with issue born of us, which is the seat of sacrifices, and to which (Agni), who has horses, goes." I follow Sâyaṇa in taking *yajñam* as an adjective of *kshayam* and meaning *yajñâśraya*. There seems to be no doubt that *yajña* is an adjective here of *kshaya*, and that being so, it can be best interpreted here as *yajñâśraya* or *yajanîya*. The words *yajña* and *kshaya* occur together again in 1, 132, 3, which, too, is obscure. As regards *aśvî*, Oldenberg's observations (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 4) that it refers to a human and not to a god do not seem to me to be convincing ; and I still think that it refers to a god, to wit, Agni. Compare 5, 6, 1 (explained below) which describes Agni as 'the home to which the swift horses go,' that is, as the treasure-house of horses ; compare also 5, 6, 2.

8, 31, 5 : *yâ' dámpatî sámanasâ sunutá á' ca dhá'vataḥ* |
dévâso nítyayấśirâ ||

"The husband and wife, O gods, who thinking alike, press and wash (Soma and mix) with pleasing admixture." The admixture referred to is that of milk, sour milk (*dadhi*) or barley ; compare 9, 101, 8 : *sám u priyâ' anûshata gâ'vo mádâya ghṛ'shvayaḥ* where the admixture of milk, *gâvaḥ*, receives the epithet *priya*.

4, 4, 7 : *séd agne astu subhágaḥ sudâ'nur*
yás tvâ nítyena havíshâ yá ukthaíḥ |
píprîshati své â'yushi duroṇé
víśvéd asmai sudínâ sâ'sad ishṭíḥ ||

'May he, O Agni, be fortunate and rich who wishes to sacrifice to thee with pleasing oblations and hymns in his house through his life. Let all (days) be fortunate days for him—such is the prayer.' The meaning of *sudâ'nu* is not clear : Oldenberg translates it (*SBE.*, 46, p. 331) as 'blessed with good rain', Grassmann (*Translation*) as 'reich an Gut' and Geldner (*Glossar*) as 'reich-beschenkt.' There is no doubt that the two last-mentioned meanings express very nearly what the poet must have had in his mind ; and I have therefore, in default of a more accurate knowledge of the meaning of the word, here rendered it as 'rich.' With regard to *nityena havishâ*, compare *priyaṃ haviḥ* in 10. 86, 12-13, *priyatamaṃ haviḥ* in 9, 34, 5, and *jushṭaṃ haviḥ* in 3. 59, 5.

1. 66. 5 : *durókaśociḥ krátur ná nítyo*
jâyéva yónâv áraṃ víśvasmai |

" (Agni), of unaccustomed brilliance, dear like the ideal, like a wife in the house, ready for everything."

8. 75. 6 : *tásmai nûnám abhídyave vâcâ' virûpa nítyayâ* |
vṛ'shṇe codasva sushṭutím ||

"Send forth now, O Virûpa, a well-made (hymn of) praise with thy dear pleasing voice towards the strong (Agni), the heavenly (?)." Regarding *nityâ vâk* here, compare *mandrâ vâk* in 8, 100, 11.

9, 12, 7 : *nítyastotro vánaspátir dhînâ'm antáḥ sabardúghaḥ* |
hinvânó mâ'nushâ yugâ' ||

" (Soma), the lord of the forest, fond of praises, who milks nectar amidst the praise-hymns and stimulates the generations of men." As mentioned above, to *nityastotro vanaspatiḥ* here corresponds *priyastotro vanaspatiḥ* in 1. 91, 6

5, 6, 1 : *agním tám manye yó vásur ástam yám yánti dhenávah |*
ástam árvanta âśávóstam nityâso vâjína ísham stotr'bhya á' bhara ||

"I praise that Agni who is a Vasu, to whom the milch-cows go home, the swift horses go home, the dear patrons go home ; bring food (nourishment) to thy praisers." The word *vâjinah* in the fourth pâda which I have translated as 'patrons' denotes the rich men who institute sacrifices, the *yajamânâh* as Sâyana has correctly explained and not priests (Grassmann, *Translation*) or race-horses as Ludwig and Oldenberg (*SBE.*, 46, p. 379) think. This is shown clearly by the following verse, *só agnír yó vásur gr̥ṇê sám yám âyánti dhenávah | sám árvanto raghudrúvah sám sujâtâ'sah sûráya ísham stotr'bhya â' bhara* which is parallel to the preceding one and where the fourth *pâda* mentions explicitly the *sujâtâsah sûrayah*.

1. 71. 1 : *úpa prá jinvann uśatî'r uśántam*
pátim na' nityam jánayah sánîlâh |
svásârah śyâ'vîm árushîm ajushrañ
citrám ucchántîm ushásam ná gâ'vah ||

"The loving (women) have stimulated (to activity) their lover as wives in the same bed (literally, in the same nest) stimulate (to amorous activity) their dear husband. The sisters have cherished the Dark and the Bright as the cows have cherished the brightly dawning Dawn." The 'loving women,' *uśatîh*, denote in all probability, the prayers that are addressed to Agni—who is referred to here by the word *uśantam*—and that are supposed to arouse him to activity, so that Agni will bring the gods to the sacrifice, carry offerings to them, etc.; see Bergaigne II, p. 68. The import of the second half-verse is obscure ; see however Oldenberg, *SBE.*, 46, p. 75 f. and *RV. Noten* I, p. 73. With regard to *nityam patim* compare *jushtam patim* in 9, 97, 22: *â'd îm âyan váram â' vâvaśânâ' júshtam pátim kaláśe gâ'va índum* where I believe, differing from Grassmann (s.v. *vâś*), that the word *vâvaśânâh* should be derived from the root *vaś* (to wish, to desire ; *vaśa kântau*) and be interpreted in the same sense as *uśatîh* in this passage and in 1. 62, 11. Compare also 1. 62, 11 and the verse that follows here, 1, 140. 7.

1. 140. 7 : *sá samstíro vishtírah sám gr̥bhâyati*
jânánn evá jânatî'r nítya â' śaye |
púnar vardhante ápi yanti devyàm
anyád várpah pitróh kr̥ṇvate sácâ ||

"He (*sc.* Agni) clasps (the plants, etc.) that have been laid together and have been laid out. Being intimate with them that are intimate with him, and being their dear (lover), he lies with them. They grow up again and attain to godhead ; they together give another form to their parents (that is, to Heaven and Earth)."

1. 141, 2 : *pr̥kshó vápuh pitumâ'n nítya â' śaye*
dvitî'yam â' saptáśivâsu mâtr̥'shu |
tr̥tî'yam asya vr̥shabhásya doháse
dáśa pramatim janayanta yóshaṇah ||

"The beloved (Agni), strong, rich in food, rests in the brilliant (sun) ; secondly, in the seven auspicious mothers ; thirdly the ten women (that is, the ten fingers) have engendered him who looks after (us), in order to milk this bull." I have followed here the suggestion of Grassmann and PW. about reading *saptá śivâ'su* and *dáśa prámatim* in the text though the text as it stands—*saptáśivâsu* (seven-fold auspicious) and *dáśapramatim* (having ten to care for him ; cared for by ten)—is not unintelligible. The words *dvitîyam* and *tr̥tîyam* seem to indicate that the first *pâda* refers to the first 'birth' of Agni as the sun that shines in the sky. It is therefore possible to understand *vapuh*, brilliant, as referring to the bright sky (*dyoh*) and to translate "The beloved Agni, strong, rich in food, entered in the brilliant sky." With reference to the sun being 'rich in food' compare Chân. Up. 3, 1, 1 : *asau vâ âdityo devamadhu*

and also the first ten *khaṇḍas* of that chapter. In the first *pâda*, the author of the Padapâṭha has decomposed *nítya â śaye* into *nityaḥ â' śaye*; and the translation given above follows this view. But the words *dvitîyam â saptaśivâsu mâtṛshu* that follow seem to indicate that *nitya* too should be regarded as a locative so that the *padaccheda* would be *nítye â' śaye*. The meaning in this case would be: The brilliant (Agni), strong, rich in food, has entered in his own (place), that is, is in the sky": see Macdonnell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 92 and the passages referred to therein.

10. 31. 4: *nítyaś cákanyât svápatir dámûnâ*
yásmâ u deváḥ savitâ' jajâ'na |
bhágo vâ góbhir aryamém anajyât
só asmai câ'ruś chadayad utá syât ||

"May the friend of the house, lord of his self, the beloved, for whom god Savitṛ has begotten, be pleased: may Bhaga or Aryaman ornament him with kine (or, anoint him with butter); may he shine beautifully, may he be our shelter."

4. 41. 10: *áśvyasya tmánâ ráthyasya pushṭér*
nítyasya râyáḥ pátayaḥ syâma |
tâ' cakrâṇâ' ûtibhir návyasîbhir
asmatrâ' râ'yo niyútaḥ sacantâm ||

"May we be lords of prosperity in horse-herds and chariots and of beloved wealth. The two, (Indra and Varuṇa) helping us newly with their protection—may riches come to us (together, like) a team of horses." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse where the nominative dual *tâ* has no predicate. With respect to *nityasya râyaḥ*, compare *priyaṃ vasu* in 4. 8. 3 and 7, 32. 15, etc., *vâmaṃ vasu* in 6. 19. 5 and *spârhaṃ vasu* in 2, 23, 9, etc., *spṛhayâyyo rayiḥ* and *puruspṛhaṃ rayim* (see Grassmann, s. v. *spṛhayâyya* and *puruspṛh*).

8. 4. 18: *párâ gâ'vo yávasaṃ kác cid âghṛṇe*
nítyaṃ rékṇo amartya |
asmâ'kaṃ pushann avitâ' śivó bhava
máṃhishṭho vâ'jasâtaye ||

"O Pûshan, brilliant, immortal, our dear wealth (namely), our kine, have gone away somewhere, to some meadow; be our gracious helper and most liberal in the winning of the wealth (that is, graciously recover them for us)." The prayer is addressed to Pûshan, who is the recoverer of lost goods; see Macdonnell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 36. With *nityaṃ rekṇah* here, compare *priyaṃ rekṇaḥ* in 10, 132, 3.

7. 1. 17: *tvé agna âháranâni bhû'rî*
'śânâ'sa â' juhuyâma nityâ |
ubhâ' kṛṇvánto vahatû' miyédhe ||

"We, O Agni, being prosperous, offer to thee many pleasing oblations, bringing (to thee) both kinds of offerings." The meaning of the last *pâda* is obscure; see Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten*, II. p. 4. Regarding *nityâ âhavanâni*, compare *nityena havishâ* in 4. 4, 7 explained above.

2. 27. 12: *yó râ'jabhya ṛtanibhyo dadâ'śa*
yáṃ vardháyanti pushṭáyaś ca nítyâḥ |
sá revâ'n yâti prathamó ráthena
vasudâ'vâ vidátheshu praśastáḥ ||

"Who offers to the kings, the leaders of *ṛta* (*sc.* the Âdityas), whom wished-for prosperities cause to thrive, he being rich and the giver of riches goes first in his chariot and is praised in the assemblies."

1. 148. 5: *ná yáṃ ripávo ná rishaṇyávo*
gárbhe sántaṃ reshaṇâ' resháyanti |
andhâ' apaśyâ' ná dabhann abhikhyâ'
nítyâsa îṃ pretâ'ro arakshan

"Whom, while in the womb, enemies that want to injure and can injure, do not injure. The blind, not seeing, did not harm him ; his dear well-wishers protected him with watchfulness." *Pretârah*, which I have rendered as 'well-wishers,' literally means 'lovers, pleasers.' It is preferable to construe *abhikhyâ*, literally, with sight, that is, with forethought, with watchfulness, with *arakshan* rather than with *andhâ apaśyâ na dabhan* (as Grassmann in his *Translation*, Ludwig and Oldenberg, *SBE.* 46, p. 173 have done) ; for the translation 'The blind, not seeing, did not injure him with their look' hardly yields good sense. *Nityâḥ pretârah* means the dear well-wishers of Agni (who is the deity of this verse), that is, the priests who are dear to Agni and to whom Agni is dear. Compare 1, 26, 7 : *priyó no astu viśpátir hótâ mandró várenyaḥ | priyâ'ḥ svagnáyo vayám.*

10, 7, 4 : *sidhrâ' agne dhíyo asmê sánutrîr*
yáṃ trâ'yase dáma â' nítyahotâ' |
ṛtâ'vâ sá rohídaśvaḥ purukshúr
dyúbhir asmâ áhabhir vâmám astu ||

"Efficacious, O Agni, and winners (of wealth) are the prayers of us [2] whom thou, the dear *hotṛ* in the house protectest. He, the red-horsed, is holy and has much food : may everything pleasing happen to him (the sacrificer, *yajamâna*) every day." In the light of the foregoing, I have taken *nítyahotâ* (with accent on *nítya*) as a *karmadhâraya* compound ; it is, however, also possible to regard it as a *bahuvrîhi* compound meaning 'he to whom the priest, *hotṛ*, is dear' ; compare *priyâḥ svagnayo vayam* in 1, 26, 7 cited above; compare also the following passage :

Maitr. Saṃ. 1, 1, 12 : *nityahotâraṃ tvâ kave dyumantaḥ sam idhîmahi*

The corresponding passage in the other *Yajus-Saṃhitâs* reads *vîtíhotraṃ tvâ kave dyumántaṃ sáṃ idhîmahi | ágne bṛhántam adhvaré* where *vîtihotram* means 'to whom the *hotra*, the office of the *hotṛ*, is dear' ; compare Uvaṭa on VS. 2, 4 : *vîtiḥ abhilâshaḥ hotṛ-karmaṇi yasya saḥ vîtihotraḥ.* I therefore take *nityahotâram* here as a *bahuvrîhi* and translate : "We, the bright, kindle, O wise one, thee to whom the *hotṛ* is dear." Or is the word *hotṛ* here used in the abstract sense of *hotra* or *hotṛtva—bhâva-pradhâno nirdeśaḥ*? If so, *nityahotâram* would be the exact equivalent of *vîtihotram.*

Śâṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5 : *enâṃ śiśuḥ krandatu â kumâra enâṃ dhenuḥ krandatu nitya-vatsâ*

"The child, the young one, cries near it ; may the milch-cow to whom the calf is dear, low near it." The milch-cow lowing to her calf is a familiar figure of comparison even in the RV.; compare 9, 12, 2 : *abhi víprâ anûshata gâ'vo vatsáṃ ná mâtáraḥ | índram* 'the priests call out to Indra as mother-cows low to their calves' ; 2, 2, 2 : *abhí tvâ náktîr usháso vavâśirégne vatsáṃ ná svásareshu dhenávaḥ* 'to thee, O Agni, they called out at nights and at dawns as the milch-cows low to their calves in evenings' ; 8, 88, 1 : *abhí vatsáṃ ná svásareshu dhenáva índraṃ gîrbhír navâmahe* 'we call out to Indra with our hymns of praise as milch-cows low to their calves in evenings' ; 6, 25, 24 ; 8, 95, 1 ; etc.

Ibid., 3, 2, 8 : *enâṃ śiśuḥ krandatu â kumâra âsyandantâṃ dhenavo nitya-vatsâḥ*

"The child, the young one cries to it ; may milch-cows to whom the calf is dear, pour forth (milk from their udders) near it." Oldenberg has here interpreted the verb *syandantâm* in the sense of 'flocking' (*SBE.*, 29, p. 93) ; but the reference here is to the return home of milch-cows after grazing in the pastures, eager to rejoin their calves and therefore lowing to them (this idea is expressed in *Śâṅkh. GS.* 3, 2, 5, explained above, by the word *krandantâm*), and, as the Indian poets express it, with udders oozing milk ; compare *Raghuvaṃśa*, 1, 84 : (*anindyâ Nandinî nâma dhenur âvavṛte vanât*) . . . . *bhuvaṃ koshṇena kuṇḍodhnî medhyenâvabhṛthâd api | prasravenâbhivarshantî vatsâloka-pravartinâ* ; and Harshacarita (Führer's

[2] Is it possible, however, that there is a word *asme* derived from the radix *a*—meaning this (*idam*)? The correlation of *yat* in this verse and in verse 8, 63, 12 would seem to show that this is the case with the word *asme* in these verses. Likewise, the *asme* in verses 1, 24, 7 ; 1, 71, 2 ; 1, 102, 2 ; 8, 51, 10 and 10, 61, 25 seems to be of this character.

ed., p. 125) : *divasa-vihṛti-pratyâgataṃ prasnuta-stanaṃ . . . . dhenu-vargam udgata-kshîram.* Compare also 2, 34, 8 : *dhenúr ná śíśve svásareshu pinvate jánâya râtáhavishe mahî'm ishám* 'they (*sc.* the Maruts) ooze with copious food for every man who has offered them oblations as a milch-cow oozes milk for her calf in evenings'; 10, 75, 4 : *abhí tvâ sindho śíśum ín ná mâtáro vâśrá' arshanti páyaseva dhenávaḥ* 'they (the rivers) run towards thee, O Sindhu, as milch-cows, lowing, and with (oozing) milk. run to their calves'; 9, 94, 2 : *dhíyaḥ pinvânâ'ḥ svásare ná gâ'va ṛtâyántîr abhí vâvaśra índum* 'the hymns of praise, following *ṛta*, lowed to Soma as cows overflowing (with milk) low (to their calves) in the evening'; 9, 68, 1 : *ásishyadanta gâ'va â' ná dhenávaḥ | barhishádo vacanâ'vanta â'dhabhiḥ parisrútam usriyâ nirṇijaṃ dhire*; and 9, 77. 1 : *abhî'm ṛtásya sudúghâ ghṛtaścúto vâśrâ' arshanti páyaseva dhenávaḥ*; and 10. 31, 11 : *prá kṛshṇâ'ya rúśad apinvatódhaḥ.*

AV. 7, 109 (104). 1 : *káḥ pṛ'śniṃ dhenúṃ váruṇena dattâ'm*
átharvaṇe sudúghâṃ nítyavatsâm |
bṛ'haspátinâ sakhyáṃ jushâṇó
yathâvaśáṃ tanvàḥ kalpayâti

"Who, enjoying companionship with Bṛhaspati shall at his will make use of the spotted milch-cow, well-milking, fond of her calf, given by Varuṇa to Atharvan?" I understand *tanvaḥ* here as equivalent to *âtmanaḥ* so that *tanvaḥ kalpayâti* means *âtmana upakalpayati*, 'makes ready for one's own use, that is, makes use of'. Whitney translates "Who, enjoying companionship with Bṛhaspati, shall shape its body at his will—the spotted milch-cow, well-milking," etc., which is unintelligible to me.

AV. 9, 4, 21 : *ayáṃ pípâna índra íd rayíṃ dadhâtu cetanî'm |*
ayáṃ dhenúṃ sudúghâṃ nítyavatsâṃ váśaṃ duhâṃ vipaścitaṃ paró diváḥ ||

"Let this burly one, a very Indra, bestow conspicuous wealth; let this (one) (bestow) a well-milking cow, fond of (her) calf: let him yield inspired will from beyond the sky".

This closes the list of passages where *nitya* has the meaning *priya*: it has the meaning *svîya, sahaja,* 'own,' in the passages that follow:

7. 4. 7 : *parishádyaṃ hy áraṇasya rékṇo*
nítyasya râyáḥ pátayaḥ syâma |
ná śésho agne anyájâtam asty
ácetânasya mâ' pathó ví dukshaḥ

This verse is not quite clear: but I believe that Yâska's interpretation of it (*Nirukta*, 3, 2) and of the verse that follows, is on the whole correct. I therefore translate, following him, "The wealth left by a stranger is to be avoided; may we be lords of our own wealth. There is no (such thing as) offspring that is begot by another. Do not foul the paths for me that am ignorant". As pointed out by Yâska, the 'wealth' mentioned in the first half-verse means 'son': compare *śeshaḥ* in the second half-verse and in the verses that precede and follow this. The last *pâda* means, "Do not, hiding the right path, point out a wrong path to me who am already ignorant; do not misguide me by saying that another's son can be *my* son."

8. 56. 2 : *dáśa máhyaṃ pautakratáḥ sahásrâ dásyave vṛ'kaḥ |*
nítyâd râyó amaṃhata

"Pautakrata, the Cutter of the Foe, has given me ten thousand from his own wealth".

9. 92, 3 : *prá sumedhá' gâtuvíd viśvádevaḥ*
sómaḥ punânáḥ sáda eti nítyam |
bhúvad víśveshu kâ'vyeshu rántâ'
'nu jánân yatate páñca dhî'raḥ

"Soma, the wise, the knower of ways, used ? of all gods, being purified goes to his own seat he takes pleasure in all praises; the wise one stimulates the five folks."

(*To be continued.*)

THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BOMBAY.

A few remarks concerning its origin and growth.

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

(Read before the Indian Section of the Royal Anthropological Institute on *October 27th*, 1925.)

THE history of the City, which is still styled in official documents the 'City and Island of Bombay,' so as to include both the business quarters and the once rural areas in the north of the Island, falls into certain definite periods, each of which has been responsible for the presence in the modern urban area [and its environs] of certain distinct elements of population. These periods are as follows:—(1) Prehistoric, (2) Hindu, (3) Muhammadan, (4) Portuguese, (5) British. Before touching upon the character of the tribes, castes or communities, which chose Bombay as their home during these five epochs, certain important data in the history of the Island must be recalled to mind. The first prominent fact is that during the four earlier periods above-mentioned, the present Island of Bombay consisted of seven separate islands, lying off the west coast of India, from which they had been severed by volcanic disturbance in very remote ages. Divided from one another at high tide by the sea, and at low tide by pools and saltmarshes, they fully justified the title of *heptanesia* bestowed upon them in A.D. 150 by Ptolemy. Their eventual union to form the modern Island of Bombay was effected during the final or British period, by means of the construction of barriers and causeways against the tide and of extensive reclamations, which have been carried out more or less continuously from the first quarter of the eighteenth century to the present day. It will readily be understood that so long as the central portion of the modern Island was a low-lying swamp, liable to daily inundation, and so long as traffic, whether wheeled or pedestrian, between the component seven isles was possible only at low tide, no large expansion of the population could take place. One of the potent factors in the growth of the occupied area and in the change from rural to urban conditions was the gradual and steady reclamation of what the early letters of the East India Company describe as 'the drowned lands.'

The second important fact is that up to the date of the marriage of Charles II with the Infanta of Portugal, who brought Bombay to him as part of her dowry, the most important portion of the Island, or, more correctly, the most important of the seven isles, was the north-western island of Mahim, corresponding roughly to the modern municipal ward of that name. It is in and around Mahim,—a Portuguese rendering of the Hindu name Mahî or Mahîkâvatî—that Hindu tradition and history are concentrated: it was against Mahim that the Muhammadans commenced their raids at the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.; and it was at Mahim that the Portuguese religious orders located their more important churches and seminaries. During the first century and a half of British rule it maintained some measure of its early importance; for up to 1800 a separate official, styled 'the Chief of Mahim' was responsible for the executive, judicial, and customs administration of this area, subject to the general control of the Governor of Bombay and his council of senior merchants. Mahim formed a bone of contention between the first representative of the English Crown, Humphrey Cooke, and the Portuguese of Bombay and Bassein. It will be remembered that the Portuguese in India, who fully realised the value of Bombay and its capacious harbour, opposed the delivery of the Island to the English and contrived to delay the cession for three-and-a-half years: and when they did eventually hand over the island, which bore the name of Bombaim or Bombay, in January 1665, they declined to give up Mahim, as being an entirely separate island, not included in the terms of the marriage-treaty. But they caught a Tartar in Humphrey Cooke, who, in spite of their protests took forcible possession of Mahim and the north-eastern islands, which formed the nucleus of the modern Sion and Parel wards, on the grounds that, as he could walk across to them at low-tide, they must form an integral portion of the Island of Bombay. In brief, the Portuguese based their objections on

the position at high-tide: Cooke checkmated them by insisting upon conditions at low-tide and by an opportune and practical illustration of the adage that 'Possession is nine-tenths of the Law.'

Thirdly, while certain classes of Bombay residents can be traced to each of the periods mentioned in the opening paragraph, the large accretions of population which have now raised the total of the Island's residents to more than a million, occurred during the last period and were engendered by the steady growth of the Company's trade and by certain domestic and external events. The latter may be summarised as follows :—(i) The gradual assumption by the Company after 1770 of territorial sovereignty, (ii) The severe famine of 1790 in Gujarat, (iii) the great famine of 1803 in the Deccan, (iv) the annexation of the Peshwa's dominions in 1818, (v) the final destruction of Piracy along the western coast in 1820, (vi) the opening of the first railway in 1853 and of direct railway communication with the Deccan ten years later, (vii) the opening of the first Indian spinning and weaving mill in 1854, (viii) The American Civil War and the Bombay Share Mania of 1861-65, (ix) the opening of railway communication with Gujarat in 1864 and (x) the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. These events serve as signposts in the history of the gradual transformation of a sparsely-populated group of seven sea-logged islands into a single populous Island of Bombay, with its long stretch of docks and wharves, its railway and tramway communications, its great public buildings and municipal works, and its busy industrial and trading quarters.

Reverting now to the several periods into which this survey is divided, we may infer that the seven islands were inhabited in the Stone Age, from the fact that along the shore of Back Bay, the false harbour which divides Malabar Hill from Colaba, and in the Kolaba District on the opposite side of Bombay harbour, flint implements have been found, similar to those associated with the cavemen of Europe. The people, who fashioned and used these stone weapons, supported themselves perhaps by fishing in the land-locked harbour and by hunting in the jungles of *khair* (*acacia catechu*) which once covered the face of the islands. The existence of a forest of these trees in prehistoric ages has been rendered credible by the discovery, during the excavation of the foundations of the modern Prince's Dock, of a petrified *khair* forest, lying 32 feet below high-water mark, imbedded in a decayed trap-rock soil and overlaid by the thick clay stratum, which forms the bottom of Bombay harbour. We know nothing of the origin and characteristics of these hunting and fishing clans of the Stone Age: but it is surmised by some authorities that they came from the south, migrating slowly along the coast and forming settlements here and there in the river bottoms. It is certain, however, that at some remote date they were ousted or absorbed by a tribe of aboriginal fisher-folk, the Kolis, who form to-day by far the oldest element of the Bombay population. The name of the tribe appears to be Dravidian, and possibly they originally spoke a Dravidian language, to the former prevalence of which many place-names in Western India still testify: but the distribution of the various sections of the tribe points to Gujarat rather than the south as their original home. It has therefore been suggested that the Kolis are descended from the pre-Aryan population of Gujarat, which gradually spread downwards along the western littoral, superseding the flint-implement users of the Stone Age.

While the precise origin of the Bombay Kolis must remain conjectural two facts concerning their contribution to the history of Bombay may be accepted as practically certain. The first is that in each of the seven islands they formed rude settlements which still exist to-day. These settlements are often mentioned in the letters and documents of the early period of British rule under the name of 'Koliwada' or 'Koli quarters,' and were located close to the sea-shore as it existed before the reclamations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such a situation was obviously necessary for people whose primary occupation was, as it still is, sea-fishing. The principal Koliwadas are located in Colaba, Mandvi, Mazagon, Worli, Mahim and Sion; and although the general progress of the city and the acquisition of

wealth by the Kolis themselves have combined to rob these settlements of their former primitive appearance and characteristics, there can be little doubt that they represent the original location of the Koli hamlets in the seven islands. Mandvi Koliwada, for example, which I first visited twenty-three years ago, was composed of old houses, set down haphazard in a maze of narrow lanes, which once debouched directly on the foreshore of the harbour. Between the houses of the Kolis and the sea which has been their sustenance from time immemorial there now intervene the wide area of the Frere Reclamation and a section of the modern docks, constructed during the nineteenth century. Moreover, since the opening of the present century the whole area has been the subject of an urban improvement scheme, which has laid out the old Koliwada on more modern and sanitary lines.

The second fact is that this Koli fishing-tribe brought with them from Gujarat to Bombay their own patron goddess, named Mumbadevi, Mumbai, or Mambai, who has lent her name to the modern Island. The English word 'Bombay' is the Portuguese 'Bombaim,' which itself is a corruption of Mumbai or Mambai, the ordinary vernacular name of the Island; and this is the title of the particular village-goddess or earth-mother, whom the Kolis have always worshipped. She is identical, it may be added, with Mommai, who is a village-goddess in Kathiawar. Documentary proof exists that the Kolis originally located her shrine on the most southerly but one of the seven islands, on a spot now occupied by the terminal station of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. To that particular island, therefore, the name Mumbai, Bombaim or Bombay was originally attached, but was subsequently extended to signify the whole area of the *heptanesia*. One can understand, therefore, why the Portuguese in India, when instructed to hand over Bombay to the English Crown representatives in 1661, persisted in declaring that the terms of the Marriage Treaty did not include areas like Mahim and Sion, but only the island immediately under the ægis of the aboriginal Koli goddess Mumbai. The goddess was doubtless represented for long ages by a rude stone smeared with blood or red-lead, such as one can see in practically every village in the Deccan and Carnatic: but in 1737, when the original shrine was demolished at the instance of the Bombay Government and a new temple was created on the present site in the native city by a wealthy Hindu of the goldsmith caste, an image of the goddess, dressed in a bodice and robe and wearing a silver crown, took the place of the amorphous stone idol. Moreover, when Bombay and the western littoral became acquainted with the Aryans and with Brahmanic Hinduism, the ancient Koli earth-mother received a step in the divine hierarchy and was adopted into the pantheon as a recognized goddess or *sakti*: while her humble aboriginal worshippers were likewise gathered into the Hindu fold by the simple expedient of providing them with a spurious pedigree from a monarch of the Lunar Race, and inventing a legend to account for this purely artificial genealogy. Since that date every fresh band of Hindu immigrants, no matter of what caste or tribe, has acknowledged the position of Mumbadevi as patron-goddess of Bombay: and we have the spectacle of an Audich Brahman acting as *pujari* of the temple, and of Brahmans officiating at the great annual festivals in the months of Ashwin and Margashirsha, while the smaller buildings and temples surrounding the shrine of the goddess are the property of a Kapole Bania. It was a Bania who built the great tank in front of the temple; while the importance of the goddess in the eyes of the local Marathi-speaking castes is shown by the prevalent custom of taking every newly-wedded couple to the shrine on their marriage day, in order to present the goddess with a cocoanut, a breast-cloth, or a jewel, according to the means of the parties.

The prehistoric period thus furnished Bombay with the oldest stratum of her present population—the Kolis—and with an aboriginal goddess, whose name has been slightly altered to form the modern name of the capital and province of Western India.

The Hindu period at its earlier limit merges into the prehistoric, and may be held to have terminated at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Beyond the fact that it formed an unimportant portion of Aparanta, the North Konkan we know practically nothing about

Bombay during the Maurya. Satavahana. and Gupta periods. From the sixth century onwards the northern Konkan. including Bombay. was governed by a succession of local dynasties—Mauryas, Chalukyas. Silaharas.—whose capital was Puri—probably an old name for Thana. the chief town of the " Konkan fourteen hundred." Between A.D. 757, when Chalukya rule of the Deccan ended. and A.D. 810. when the Silahara family became hereditary local rulers of the Thana and Kolaba Districts. the western littoral. including the seven Bombay islands. was governed by the indigenous Deccan dynasty of Râshtrakûtas, who were probably connected indirectly by descent with the Mahârathis of the Sâtavâhana age. and therefore also. possibly. with the Mahâsenapatis who once served as Andhra viceroys in the Adoni region [and may for a time have administered the ancient Tondamandalam in the Madras Presidency]. It was during the Râshtrakûta hegemony of the Deccan and Konkan that the Parsis first migrated to Sanjan. which lies just north of Bombay, and thence spread northwards into Gujarat : it was about the same epoch that certain Jews of the Yemen, under pressure of the rising tide of Islam. fled to the coast of India and settled in the villages of Kolaba and Thana. whence they moved in the eighteenth century to the Island of Bombay.

Calling themselves Bene-Israel. *scil.* Children of Israel these Jew refugees. on their arrival in the Konkan. adopted the trades of carpenters. masons. and oil-pressers, and in course of time relinquished most of their traditional beliefs and customs. except the observance of the Sabbath. the rite of circumcision. and the memory of the Prophet Elijah and the Day of Atonement. Their observance of the Sabbath. indeed, led to their being styled 'Shanwar Telis' or 'Saturday oilmen.' to distinguish them from Hindu oil-pressers, who were dubbed 'Somawar Telis' or 'Monday oilmen.' In other respects they were gradually assimilated to the Hindu population. adopted Marâthi as their language, and so modified their Jewish names as to resemble the names of their Hindu and Muhammadan neighbours. Thus Abraham became Abaji : Moses. Musaji : Isaac. Isaji : and Samuel, Samaji. After their arrival in Bombay. many of them adopted the military profession. and from 1750 onwards there was hardly an infantry regiment of the old Bombay Army that did not include a certain proportion of Bene-Israel. Some of them rose to the rank of officers and took part in the storming of Seringapatam. the siege of Multan. and the battle of Kirkee. The chief synagogue in Bombay City styled the 'Gate of Mercy.' was built in 1796 by a Bene-Israel officer named Samaji (Samuel) in gratitude for his escape from the clutches of Tipû Sultan. Nowadays the Bene-Israel. who owe their educational advance to the labours of Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century, will be found in every profession and calling. and have long deserted their original ghetto. which was close to the modern Masjid Bandar railway station, in favour of certain streets in the Umarkhadi section of the municipal ward B.

Another prominent class, which had settled in the coast towns of western India by the beginning of the seventh century A.D. and was originally composed partly of sea-faring Arab traders and partly of Arab and Persian refugees from Irak and other places is known to-day as the Konkani Muhammadans. Reaching western India by sea at intervals between the sixth and thirteenth centuries these Arab and Persian merchants and refugees formed permanent or temporary unions with the Hindu women of the coast. and thus produced the mixed Muhammadan stock called Navayats or Naitias, who will be found all along the coast from Cambay to Goa. Those who settled in Alibag Thana. Kalyan. Chaul. Bassein and neighbouring coast-towns, and who probably inhabited Mahim in Bombay in the thirteenth century. style themselves Konkani Muhammadans and recognise among themselves three separate divisions, viz :—*Konkani Jamaâts*, who claim direct Arab descent. *Mandlekars* or those descended from Konkani Muhammadan fathers and Hindu mothers, and *Daldis* or castaways, who are probably low caste Hindu converts to Islam. The Konkani Muhammadans of Bombay were well-known during the epoch of Portuguese dominion and in the earlier period of the East India

Company's rule as successful merchants and landed proprietors, and up to the year 1866 the office of Kazi of Bombay, now abolished, was filled from their community. As a class, they have not kept abreast of the times, owing largely to their careless attitude towards western education; while in the sphere of trade and commerce they have been ousted by the enterprising Parsi and Hindu trading classes. Many of them have emigrated to Rangoon, Mauritius, Zanzibar, Natal, and the Transvaal. Nevertheless, whether as small property owners, or as clerks, mechanics, messengers, porters, and lascars, they represent to-day one of the older strata of the Bombay urban population.

The rule of the local Silahara chiefs was important from the standpoint of the colonisation of Bombay, for during the four and a half centuries from A.D. 810 to 1260 the aboriginal Kolis witnessed the arrival of various new comers. The dominions of the Silaharas consisted of the modern Thana District with Bombay and parts of Kolaba District, and their chief towns were Thana itself, on the creek which debouches into Bombay harbour, Saimur or Chaul, and Sanjan. Al Masudi, Ibn Hankal, Al Kazwini, and other old historians tell us that the Silaharas fostered trade with Moslem lands, allowed the settlement in their territory of large bodies of Jewish, Christian, and Fire-worshipping immigrants, and showed particular favour to Muhammadans. They themselves were Shaivas by religion and appear to have originally belonged, like many of their officials, to the Kanarese-speaking districts of the Carnatic. It was in honour of the Trimurti that they built the great temple of Walkeshwar on Malabar Hill, and during their rule was discovered the famous Shri Gundi or Lucky Hollow at the extremity of that well-known promontory. The existence of this ornate temple, which was subsequently ruined by the Muhammadans or Portuguese, and of the Shri Gundi, coupled with the tolerant administration of the rulers, must have brought many immigrants to Bombay: and although the Pathare Prabhus, the Yajurvedi or Palshikar Brahmans, the Pânchkalshis, the Bhois, the Bhandâris, and the Agris of Bombay are traditionally supposed to have entered Bombay in the train of a certain Raja Bimb at the end of the thirteenth century, there can be little doubt that the ancestors of these ancient and well-known Bombay castes filtered in gradually during the long period of Silahara rule and were settled in the Bombay neighbourhood by the opening of the thirteenth century.

The Pathare Prabhus, who held high office under Raja Bimb and the later Muhammadan owners of Bombay, probably reached the Island originally from Gujarat and neighbouring tracts: for their manners, customs and language show traces of a northern origin, and one distinctive feature of their ancient dress, which has now fallen into disuse, is found only in some parts of Kâthiâwâr. The Pânchkalshis, who are closely connected with the Prabhus, must also have come from Gujarat. They seem at first to have shared official position and honours with the Prabhus, but to have been degraded, owing to some infringement of caste rules, during Muhammadan or Portuguese dominion, and to have thereafter adopted agricultural pursuits and the trade of carpentry and boat-building. A few of them managed to retain their hereditary offices of Sar-Desai, Sar-Naik, and Sar-Patel in Salsette and other parts of the North Konkan until comparatively late times; while a very large number were forcibly converted to Christianity by the Portuguese and became the ancestors of many of the Native Christian families of Salsette and Bombay. The Yajurvedi Brahmans, on the other hand, who became the hereditary priests of the people of Mahim and other parts of Bombay, seem to have hailed from the valley of the Godavari, whence the Silahara rulers themselves came.

The Bhandâris, who are traditionally alleged to have accompanied the above-mentioned castes to Bombay, belong very likely to an even older wave of settlement. Their original occupation, which many of them still follow, was the cultivation and tapping of the cocoa-nut palm (*cocos nucifera*); and as a Nasik inscription proves that this palm was grown on a large

scale in the north of Thana by the second century A.D., it is not perhaps over-rash to date its arrival in the North Konkan a century or two before that date. It seems to have reached India from the Malay country by way of Ceylon, and the Bhandâris, who from the earliest period of Bombay history have been closely associated with the tree, probably came with it from the Ratnagiri District of the South Konkan, which has always been one of their chief strongholds. Some Bhandâris certainly acquired a position of power in Chaul and neighbouring areas before the fourteenth century, and there is ample evidence that they were employed as soldiers both by the Marâthas and by the British. Sivâji's famous *Hetkaris* were Bhandâris and the earliest militia and police force in Bombay was composed largely of 'Bandareens,' as they were styled by contemporary writers. There is also a strong tradition that just prior to Portuguese rule in Bombay the Bhandâris actually revolted from Muhammadan overlordship and were strong enough to hold Mahim and the northern parts of the Island for a space of eight or ten years. Whatever the exact truth may be, there is no doubt that the Bhandâris represent an early element of Bombay society, that they wielded political and military influence in the immediate neighbourhood of Bombay about the end of the thirteenth century, and that although their hereditary occupation is the tapping of the palm-tree and the manufacture of palm liquor, they possessed a traditional inclination to martial pursuits and formed an efficient element in the forces of both the Marâthas and the East India Company in the seventeenth century.

The Silahara rulers yielded place in A.D. 1265 to Brahman viceroys of the Yâdavas of Devgiri, who had emerged triumphant from the struggle connected with the dissolution of the Chalukya power in the Deccan. Yâdava authority over the Northern Konkan appears to have been acknowledged up to A.D. 1297, three years after Alau-d-din Khilji's raid on the Deccan. For several years after that date the political circumstances of Bombay are obscure; but it seems probable that Thana, including Bombay, was administered by local Hindu rulers until about A.D. 1350, when the Muhammadan governor of Gujarat took forcible possession of the country. One of these Hindu Rajas or Chiefs, who is known to tradition as Râja Bimb or Bhîm Râja, is of more than ordinary historical importance; for he appears to have transferred his capital from Thana in Salsette, which he probably found too exposed to attack, to the island of Mahim in Bombay, and by that act raised Bombay at once above the level of a mere aboriginal fishing settlement.

Of Bimb's precise identity no authentic record exists, and the popular view that he belonged to the family of the Solankis of Anahilwada or the Yâdavas of Devgiri is untenable. The most plausible supposition is that he was a leading member of the Pathare Prabhu community, which had held high official rank under the Silaharas and had ample opportunity of establishing a small principality of its own in the sparsely-populated Island of Mahim in Bombay during the confusion that followed the Muhammadan invasion of the Deccan. Anyhow there is no reason to doubt that for some few years Bimb ruled at Mahim, granted offices and rent-free lands to his followers, and was directly responsible for the establishment of a town, which was given the pompous Sanskrit name of Mahikâvati. From the shortened form of this name, Mahi, the Portuguese name Mahim was derived. The story that he brought in his train, direct from Gujarat or the Deccan, the various castes and classes mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, together with Bhois (palanquin-bearers) and Thakurs (men-at-arms) is manifestly absurd. But it is not unreasonable to assume that in moving the seat of government from Salsette to Mahim he introduced into Bombay a considerable number of his own caste fellows and allied tribes and castes, who had settled in Thana and the towns and villages of the North Konkan during the four and a half centuries of Silahara rule. From the commencement of the fourteenth century, therefore, may be dated the presence in Bombay Island, in appreciable numbers, of the Pathare Prabhus, Pânchkalshis, Palshikar or Yajurvedi Brahmans, Bhois, Thakurs, Malis or Vadvals and Agris. Of these the Prabhus

and Pânchkalshis formed the administrative and land-owning element; the Palshikar Brahmans were the priests, astrologers, and medical attendants of the general community; the Malis or Vadvals and the Agris were the agricultural element; the Bhois, whose caste name is said by some to be the origin of the word "Boy," applied by Anglo-Indians to their domestic servants, acted as palanquin-bearers and menials; while the Thakurs, together with the Bhandâris under their Bhongales or trumpeter-chiefs, formed the material of the chief's military forces.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA, by VINCENT A. SMITH, Fourth Edition, revised by S. M. EDWARDES. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924.

When Dr. Vincent Smith realised that he could never complete the revised edition of his great work himself, he handed over his notes to his friend, Mr. S. M. Edwardes, who was "to endeavour to the best of his ability to bring the work up-to-date." Thus does the latter modestly describe his share in the work, but it can be unhesitatingly said that he has fully succeeded "in bringing it up-to-date." The subject is notoriously controversial, and bearing that in mind the method of treating it is admirable. Every chapter has one or more appendix discussing important points and there are footnotes to nearly every page. In this way dogmatism is avoided and an opportunity taken to discuss the many varying views that exist on nearly every detail of a history that has been put together by the careful research of many scholars. To the present writer it is very pleasant to note the importance that the compilers have given to chronology—a subject to which so much of this *Journal* has in the past been devoted, owing to the researches of that great pioneer Dr. J. F. Fleet.

Recent research, both of Indian and European scholars, has shown that it is possible to recover a great deal of the doings of the ancients in India with sufficient accuracy to warrant such a book as this, or, shall we say? as it will become in successive editions, as with time the tools of the searchers dig more deeply into the records of the past. Even as Mr. Edwardes was writing, fresh important information regarding that Will-o'-the-wisp—the Pallavas—has been forthcoming, and more and more accurate knowledge on many a head of antiquity is coming to light, as criticism is directed to the statements of those engaged in the work by others of equal authority, who can interpret the old records that are being continually discovered. The great service that Dr. Vincent Smith in the first place, with Mr. Edwardes following on his heels, has rendered the world of scholars and students is that they have put together the views of all that have so far devoted themselves to the subject, after duly digesting them and adding the results of their own studies. It appears to the present writer that the general result could not have been bettered or more fairly stated.

Like all who have tried to present Indian History in the briefest space possible, Dr. Vincent Smith has had to confine himself to an account of the chief dynasties only, and to notice the doings of the many smaller states in a cursory manner. He has had to treat South India almost as a land apart. There is nevertheless very much that is of interest and value in the story of the minor states as local history, but there is no way of dealing with India generally, that appeals to myself at any rate, except on the lines that Dr. Vincent Smith has adopted. He is to my mind also quite justified in commencing history with the earliest dates that have been ascertained with more or less certainty, and in leaving out of account all that may be said to have happened before. This brings the far limit to *c.* 650 B.C. Dr. Vincent Smith's book is thus the history of India in Hindu times, and he has neglected no original source in his research, however difficult and recondite, bravely tackling so obscure a subject as the Indian Eras, on which Dr. Fleet did such important work—a subject which in fact every one must master if he would write convincingly on history in India. The book contains also two valuable summaries of sources—the Age of the Purâṇas and the Chinese Pilgrims. In fact no phase of the subject and its presentation has escaped notice—not even that bugbear of all writers on Indian subjects—the transliteration and presentation of proper names. This observation takes one to the art of writing, the introduction of which into India Dr. Vincent Smith puts in the eighth to seventh centuries B.C., holding that before this period the people "seem to have been obliged to trust to highly-trained memory for the transmission" of facts. I would like, however, to remark here that, though this is so, it does not detract from the accuracy of that memory, which has been shown in other directions to have been as trustworthy as, and even more conscientiously accurate than, written records. I would not be inclined to distrust a statement—historical or other—merely because it has not been reduced to writing.

Dr. Vincent Smith commences his history with the now familiar Saiśunâga Dynasty of Magadha, which lasted from *c.* 650 to *c.* 470 B.C. and was

contemporary with four important historical events—the foundation of Jainism and of Buddhism, the advent of Darius and his Persians on the Indian frontiers, and the voyage of Skylax of Karyanda from the Indus to the Red Sea. The first two vastly affected Indian thought and the last two connected India with the West—a fact which one cannot forget in considering things Indian. After the Saisunâgas came the Nandas, who lasted till 320 B.C. The end of the Saisunâgas came from causes natural to a dynasty which had become weak, and the whole record of the Nandas is garbled, which is due no doubt, as Dr. Vincent Smith surmises, to its being the work of Brahman Monks telling the story of kings, who were of a belief foreign to their own—perhaps that of the Jains. Their greatness would render it unlikely that they were the depraved creatures they are represented to have been. Towards their end another great event happened in India—the arrival of Alexander the Great in 326 B.C.

Two chapters are devoted to the doings of Alexander, including a wonderful account of his victory over Poros, because, as the author remarks, it is "a subject, which, so far as I know, has not been treated in any modern book." No one will quarrel with Dr. Vincent Smith as to the length of his treatment, but I am not quite prepared to endorse his statement that Alexander's campaign "was in actual effect, no more than a brilliant raid on a gigantic scale, which left upon India no mark save the horrid scars of bloody war." It seems to me, despite all that is said in this work on pp. 251-256, to be unlikely that "India remained unchanged," though no Indian refers to it. If Indian writers could distort the history of the Nandas, who were obviously great kings, they were equally capable of ignoring the foreigner Alexander. His influence in the East appears to me to have been too great to have been reduced to nothing in India. However, in Dr. Vincent Smith's view, western influence did not have effect till the days of the Kushâns some four centuries later, which relegates it to the days of Imperial Rome. Nevertheless, the ignoring and distorting of inconvenient or humiliating history by Oriental writers is a point worthy of close consideration. Dr. Vincent Smith himself remarks on the absence of reference in Hindu books to the sack of Somnath by Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century A.D., and the present writer in the Second Afghan War (1878—1881) found Afghans and Pathans who were entirely ignorant of the British proceedings as to the Bâlâ Hissâr at Kâbul in the First Afghan War, not forty years earlier. At Canton in 1898 he found educated Southern Chinese not only ignorant but sceptical of the facts of the then quite recent Japanese War in Northern China. The same ignorance of recent history in Lower Burma was visible in Upper Burma during the Third Burmese War (1885-1889). Such ignorance has no doubt occurred elsewhere.

With the departure of Alexander and the end of the Nandas we come to the end of a definite period in Indian history, into the difficult chronology of which the book goes in the most careful manner, and I observe that it fixes the date of the death of Buddha at 543 B.C., after a close summary of the various attributions, and holds that the death of Mahâvîra (of the Jains), which is generally fixed in 527 B.C., is still merely a "traditional date." These statements are worth observing.

We have now reached the Mauryan Empire founded by the great Chandragupta Maurya as the first of its kind in India. Of Chandragupta a short, but good, account is given, and much is said about his government from the accounts of his Minister, Vishnugupta Chânakya, *alias* Kautilya, and the Greek physician—envoy Megasthenes. Chandragupta was so great a man that we are indeed fortunate in having two such good accounts of him and his government, and also in having scholars who have so patiently hunted up and given the modern world all that they contain. In this volume will be found a painstaking summary of their contents, bringing vividly before us the mode of government and the extent of the civilisation then enjoyed. The only point on which I would like to break a lance with Dr. Vincent Smith here is as to what he calls "the absence of Hellenic influence." He states that neither Alexander nor Seleukos Nikator, with both of whom Chandragupta came in contact, nor one presumes any other Hellenised ruler or people on the North-Western Frontiers, had any effect on him and his Indian administration, civil or military. No doubt there is no allusion to Hellenic influence in Indian writings, but it seems almost impossible to believe that so all-pervading a man as Alexander was unable to affect Chandragupta, while it is quite possible to believe that whatever he and his officers learnt and copied may have been so assimilated that the origin of the ideas became lost. Perhaps in future editions the point of Hellenism in India may be gone into more deeply. The story of the end of Chandragupta as a Jain ascetic is most interestingly told in a brief paragraph.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusâra *alias* Amitraghât, the Slayer of Foes, about whom not much is known, though he, too, must have been a great monarch, extending his dominions and carrying on his father's communications with the Greeks. Here we are favoured with two very valuable appendices on the extent of the cession of Ariana by Seleukos Nikator and on the *Arthaśâstra* of Chânakya. Of Aśoka, Bindusâra's famous son, much has been written and it must here suffice to say that the book goes with the greatest care into all the information regarding the reign of this all-important Emperor, weighing the evidence carefully and stating, where thought necessary, Dr. Vincent Smith's

personal views. The account ends with an admirable chronological table of the whole dynasty from *c.* 326 to 185 B.C. There is also an excellent map of Aśoka's great dominions.

We are next introduced to more difficult history, on which Dr. Vincent Smith gives us a short chapter full of the most interesting information. First we have the Śunga Dynasty as the successors of part of the once great Maurya possessions, and of the raids of Kharavela of Kalinga (165—161 B.C.). After this there is the last attempt of the Hellenic kings, in the person of Menander (Milinda) from Kâbul and the Panjâb, to attack an Indian monarch in 153 B.C. In the days of the first Śunga king, Pushyamitra, the Vedic rite of horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) was revived, and it was under him that Brahmanism began to reassert itself and throw off the yoke of Jainism and Buddhism. The dynasty lasted about a hundred years and gave way *c.* 73 B.C. in dishonour to the Kâṇvas, who were Brâhmans and lasted about half a century, when they were destroyed by an Andhra king *c.* 28 B.C. India had now ceased to have a great kingdom within it in the sense of an Empire, and Dr. Vincent Smith therefore goes into the stories first of the Andhras and then of the North-Indian Indo-Greeks and Kushân Dynasties till the rise of the next great Empire, that of the Guptas *c.* 300 A.D.

The Andhras go back much further than 28 B.C. Indeed they are found as a Dravidian nation on the banks of the Godâvarî and Krishṇa (Kistna) Rivers as far back as the days of Chandragupta 300 B.C. Their kings, the Sâtavâhanas, became powerful in the Deccan right across India *c.* 240 B.C. and their history is still very confused. In fact it has only been pieced together from various fragmentary sources. However, they ruled a varying but considerable part of India till about 225 A.D., and their rule and ambitions brought them into collision with not only the Kâṇvas but also with various foreigners in the heart of India. *E.g.*, the Kshaharâta Viceroy (Satraps, Kshatrapas) and the Mahâkshatrapas of Râjputana and part of the Bombay Presidency. Certain of the kings of the time were undoubtedly powerful rulers, and some were known to the western world: of the Andhras such kings were Gautamiputra, *c.* 100 A.D., and Pulumayi, *c.* 125; of the Kshaharâta Satraps, Nahapâna, *c.* 40 A.D., and of the Mahâkshatrapas, Chashtana, *c.* 80 A.D., and Rudradaman, *c.* 130. The whole of the main facts ascertained so far are admirably tabulated in this book as "the late Andhra Kings and connected Dynasties." The Andhra Dynasty went down in anarchy after the Indian fashion *c.* 225 A.D.

So far we have been dealing with what may be called India proper, and we find the story of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian and Kushân Dynasties even still more confused. On the death of Aśoka his North-Indian Empire fell a natural prey to the Hellenist Princes of Bactria, and Parthia. Seleukos Nikator had an unworthy grandson Antiochos Theos *c.* 261-245 B.C., and in his time Diodotos of Bactria and Arsakes of Parthia successfully separated themselves from the great Empire created by Seleukos. At this point I feel constrained to make a small criticism. The book says, p. 234 that Antiochos was "miscalled even in his life-time Theos or 'the god' and strange to say was worshipped as such." There is to my mind, however, nothing strange in the fact, for, as I read history, the great Alexander, while in Persia, deliberately had himself proclaimed "a god" on the advice of his Greek philosophic advisers, as the religious as well as the political head of the people, and more princes than Antiochos followed the idea. It is the very ancient idea of the "divinity of kings" followed in various degrees all over the world from Western Europe to China.

History now becomes as confused as the fights of minor principalities can make it, but as regards India Euthydemos and his son Demetrios, as well as Eukratides of the Bactrian line or lines, conquered the country round the Indus and were followed by several Indo-Greek rulers. So great was the confusion of the time that in Appendix K. Dr. Vincent Smith very wisely gives their names in alphabetical order, because the "geographical and chronological position is so uncertain," though he does try to place them in Appendix L. Out of this list there stands a great name, Menander, probably of the family of Eukratides. The whole situation takes us down to B.C. 150.

Meanwhile a great revolution was taking place in Central Asia. About 170 B.C. the Yuechi Tribes, driven out of North-Western China, collided with the Saka tribes of the Jaxartes or Syr Daria *c.* 160, which in their turn burst upon the Græco-Bactrians and Parthians *c.* 140, so that the former disappeared. The Central Asian hordes remained in Seistân and the Panjâb, penetrating even as far as Mathurâ and Kâthiawâd at varying dates up to 390 A.D. The Parthians, however, developed their power and spread over into India, where they founded Satrapies, *i.e.*, viceroyalties or subordinate kingdoms. History therefore is almost hopelessly confused, but Dr. Vincent Smith most wonderfully clears the ground by assuming two main lines of Indo-Parthian princes:—one in Arachosia or Seistân and the other in Taxila of the Panjâb. Dr. Vincent Smith also shows that at times the viceroys, *e.g.*, Azes, were transferred from Seistân to Taxila. By the date of Christ these Indian viceroys had become kings. We are now brought to the well-known story of Gondophares and St. Thomas, Gondophares being assumed to have been king of both Taxila and Seistân between *c.* 20 and 48 A.D. Into the story Dr. Vincent Smith goes fairly and fully, and comes to the conclusion that as regards Gondophares the story should not be accepted. There I leave it, as judging by personal

correspondence the matter is by no means yet settled. About this period the Indo-Parthian rulers had to give way to the Indo-Scythians or Kushâns, a Yuechi Tribe, who did great things in the ancient days. The influence of the Romans under Augustus also began to be felt.

We have now reached the Kushân Dynasty, c 20—225 A.D., to the story of which a very fine chapter is devoted. Indeed chapter X is worthy of close study even by experts, as it puts the results of recent research in an extraordinarily clear and useful manner. The Kushâns here stand plainly before us from their initial migrations, c. 165 B.C., to their disappearance c. 225 A.D. The long disputed date of the accession of the greatest of them, Kanishka, Dr. Vincent Smith puts at 120 A.D., and it is of great interest that he attributes the decay of the Indo-Scythian, *i.e.*, the Kushân, monarchy to the devastating plague of 167 A.D., and possibly to a Sassanian invasion from Persia. At any rate from the time of the disappearance of the Andhras in Central India and the Kushâns in Northern India, both about the same time, c. 225 A.D., there was no one great power in India till the rise of the Guptas c. 320. I may add here, before passing to the Guptas that an excellent chronology of the Kushâns is given :—the best I have yet seen.

The rise of the Guptas from the status of local chiefs in Bihar to that of Emperors is attributed to a marriage with the powerful Lichhavî rulers of Nepâl, who were of extra-Indian origin. It may be noted here that the rise of the Pallavas in South India has been similarly attributed to marriage with more powerful neighbours. Unfortunately for the clear apprehension of history the name of the founder of the Guptas, the second of the greatest Indian Empires, was Chandragupta just as the founder of the Mauryan Empire, the first, was also called Chandragupta. However, the real maker of the Gupta Empire was Samudragupta, fairly described in the book as "the Indian Napoleon." Here Mr. Vincent Smith can claim a personal victory as the recoverer of the story of the greatest Indian ruler after Aśoka and before Akbar, and it is very well told. Samudragupta was succeeded by another great figure in ancient history, Chandragupta whom it is convenient to call by another title Vikramâditya, especially as he is most probably really the Râja Bikram of widely spread Indian legend. He put an end to the Western Satrapies for good, as one of his many great political achievements, and was a great man in other ways. Then came Kumâragupta and the Hun invasion. Dr. Vincent Smith has here a good account of what the Guptas did for Indian architecture, but we must pass on to the Huns.

I would, however, here pause a moment to make a comparison between the length of the reigns of the great rulers of India of the Imperial Dynasties before the British Empire.

MAURYAS.		B.C.	Years of reign.
Chandragupta	..	323—298	25
Bindusâra ..	..	298—272	26
Aśoka ..	..	272—242	30
GUPTAS.		A.D.	
Chandragupta	..	320—330	10
Samudragupta	..	330—380	50
Vikramâditya	..	380—413	33
Kumâragupta	..	413—455	42
Skandagupta	..	455—467	12
MOGHALS.		A.D.	
Akbar ..	..	1556—1605	49
Jahângir .	.	1605—1628	23
Shâhjahân .	.	1628—1658	30
Aurangzéb .	..	1658—1707	49

There were, of course, other rulers of supreme consequence under whom India made a general progress forwards, but the above sets of dates cover roughly the chief advances in Indian civilisation, as during these periods the rulers were mighty men or had great advisers and the land had such peace as was possible. At any rate it was more or less united and so personal ambition had scope.

The decline of the Guptas commenced with the sever ethough historically unimportant struggle with the Pushyamitras, who were possibly founders of the Vallabhi Kingdom in Western India, followed by the first Hun attack. This last was, however, averted by Skandagupta in 458, but the Huns soon returned and harassed him, and by the sixth century the Guptas had disappeared. Meanwhile the Huns from Central Asia began to appear in Europe and had over-run it by 378, but had been ousted by c. 470. In India they appeared as the Ephthalites or White Huns (c. 455) and produced at least two important rulers, Toramâna (*ob.* c. 502) and a greater man, his son Mihiragula of Siâlkot in the Panjâb. This last title Dr. Vincent Smith translates by Sunflower, though that is not the sense of its Sanskrit equivalent, Mihirakula. He is described in India as a great tyrant and was ousted by 528 by what may be described as a Râjput Confederacy, describing Râjputs as clans of very varying origin, foreign and indigenous, who have at some time acquired local sovereignty. The head of the Confederacy was Yasodharman, of a very wide rule if his inscriptions can be trusted, which Dr. Vincent Smith doubts, and soon afterwards the Turks came into prominence, ousting the Huns. After these events up to the arrival of Harsha (c. 600) Indian history is very vague and local, but nevertheless except for local Arab irruptions into Sind and Gujarât in the eighth century, for half a millennium it was free from foreign attack and could develop itself.

The seventh century saw the use of the last great Hindu Empire in India under Harsha of Thânesar and Kanauj, *c.* 606 to *c.* 647 ; and of his reign there is much good evidence, which need not be gone into here beyond stating that in acquiring and then ruling his great dominions for a quarter of a century and more he shows himself to have been an unusually great man. His empire, however, practically disappeared with him ; and in the words of Dr. Vincent Smith "India naturally reverted to her normal condition of anarchical autonomy." As to the remaining 500 odd years of Hindu rule under petty chiefs before the arrival of Mahmûd of Ghaznî, *c.* 1000 A.D., and the conquests of Shihâbu'ddîn Ghorî, *c.* 1200, the book has a pregnant paragraph on p. 372, where it is said that "the salient features in the bewildering annals of Indian petty states, when left to their own devices for several centuries, may perhaps give a notion of what India always has been when released from the control of a supreme authority, and what she would be again if the hand of the benevolent power which now safeguards her boundaries should be withdrawn." I may here remark that we have the author at his greatest value when history is most confused—learned, patient and clear. The oldest expert can hear him here with profit, and I would like to add with admiration. The truth of such an observation is brought home by a perusal of Dr. Vincent Smith's outspoken remarks on the history of the Râjput States and on the Râjputs themselves, though these last a pretty sure to rouse controversy.

It is not possible here to go into the details of Indian history from 700 to 1200 A.D. The land was under local chiefs, some of whom acquired large territories, while others have become famous. Regarding these times the opinions of scholars and searchers naturally differ and Dr. Vincent Smith has his own reasoned opinion on every point, put with great force and with a clearness which all readers will acknowledge. Of the rulers who were personally great may be mentioned firstly Bhoja, Panihâr (Râjput) of Kanauj (840–890)—Mihira Bhoja as Dr. Vincent Smith calls him for differentiation—followed by his son Mahendrapâla (890–908) and grandson Mahîpâla. 910–940, who all maintained a wide rule. Then came Jaipâl of Bhatindâ (Patiâlâ), who stood up to the Muhammadans, Sabuktigîn and Mahmûd of Ghaznî, for a while (989 to 1001). Meanwhile the Panihâr rulers of Kanauj had given place to the Gaharwârs in 1090, from whom eventually came the Rathors of Jodhpur and the Desert. The Gaharwârs produced a great ruler in Govindachandra (1104–1155), and under his grandson Jayachandra—the Raja Jaichand, whose daughter was carried off by Rai Pithorâ, the Chauhân, of Ajmer according to a well-known story—India fell to the Muhammadans under Shihâbu'ddîn Ghorî in 1194. Here Dr. Vincent Smith makes another of his outspoken statement that Delhi "is among the most modern of great Indian cities," dating only from the days of the Tomara Râjput Anangapâla, in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

At this period there existed, as above said, Prithivirâja, Chauhân, of Sâmbhar and Ajmer, the famous Rai Pithorâ of song and legend, who faced Shihâbu'ddîn Ghorî at Tarâin and was killed in 1192. Dr. Vincent Smith throws over the old story that the abduction of Râja Jaichand's daughter was a cause of the Râjput defeat by Shihâbu'ddîn Ghorî, as the two great frontier chiefs of the period could not combine, and puts it down prosaically to the defeat of "a mob of Indian militia" before "the onset of trained cavalry." He may be right, if there is evidence the Afghân (or whatever they were) cavalry were better trained than the Râjputs. Passing over the Chandels (Gonds) and the Kalachuris (Haihayas), we find another great ruler among the Pawârs of Mâlwâ in Râja Bhoja of Dhâr (1018–1060), who has left a lively memory behind him.

All this while in Bengal there was a Pâla dynasty (Buddhist), rising out of the anarchy following the great Emperor Harsha, which lasted some four and a half centuries. Of this Dynasty Dharmapâla (*c.* 810–832) controlled a wide kingdom. The Senâs—who were Hindus—under Vijayasena, wrested a large part of Bengal from the Pâlas, *c.* 1100, and the two dynasties ruled side by side till Muhammad *ibn* Bakhtiyâr Khiljî, put an end to both in 1197 and destroyed Buddhism. Thus ended Hindu-governed India, of which one remark may be made. Wherever and whenever there was strong rule—imperially or locally—literature and the arts flourished. Dr. Vincent Smith follows up his account by some remarkable pages on Râjputs, which to my mind gives a fair account of these elusive clans, though one can hardly hope that his conclusions, so boldly stated, will escape criticism. He winds up the section of his work with a very fine Appendix on the origin and chronology of the Sena Dynasty.

There still remain, however, two important parts of India to be considered—the Deccan and the South. As regards the Deccan, Dr. Vincent Smith remarks that, from the destruction of the Andhras, history is still very vague from 225 to the sixth century *i.e.*, to the rise of the Chalukyas (Solankis) of Vâtâpi (Bâdâmi), who, he thinks, were connections of the Gurjaras of Gujarât, and therefore originally foreigners to India. In 608 a very able prince, Pulakesin II, was on the throne at Vâtâpi and his brother Kubja Vishṇuvardhana was his viceroy in the East at Vengi. Hencear ose the long lines of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas. They fought all round always and Pulakesin became a mighty ruler until his defeat and death in 642 at the hands of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman. About 753 arrived for two and a half centuries the

Rashtrakûtas (753-973), who were the Balharas (Vallabha Râis) of the Muhammadan writers and the builders of the Kailâsa Temple at Ellora. The Muhammadans called them "the greatest sovereigns in India," and no doubt they produced several notable rulers—Govinda III (793-815), Amogavarsha of the long reign (815–877), Indra III (914–916), who successfully attacked distant Kanauj. And then in 973 Taila, a Chalukya, overthrew them and restored the fortunes of his family in the Chalukyas of Kalyânî for two and a quarter centuries (973-1190). Of this branch of the Chalukyas, Vikramânka (1076–1126) was a wise, kindly man who ruled in peace for the most part. Then came Bijjala, the Kalachurya Jain for a while, under whom his Brâhman Minister Basava founded the Lingayats c. 1167—a sect which checked Jainism and helped to destroy Buddhism in South India. After a short revival of the Chalukyas there came over one part of the kingdom the Hoysalas of the Mysore country (Dôrasamudra, Halebid) in 1190 to be destroyed in turn by the Muhammadans c. 1326. And over another part came the Yâdavas of Devagiri (Daulatâbâd) to succumb also to the Muhammadans in 1318. A useful set of Dynastic Tables concludes the short account of the Deccan Dynasties.

The Southern Kingdoms present a more difficult and unfortunately still less settled problem, meaning by that term in ancient India, the Land of the Tamils, and that ruled by the Pallavas. The difficulty of the subject lies in the incompleteness of the research which still obtains. In the ancient days the ruling families were the Pândyas in the South, the Cholas on the Eastern side and the Cheras on the Western, with many incursions into each other's territories. As regards the Pallavas, the problem as to who and what they were is being gradually settled, and though I do not at present personally feel satisfied that it is right to describe them, as does this book, as a predatory clan like the Marâthâs of later times, it is quite possible that that is a conclusion historians will eventually arrive at. Tamil India is very ancient and its story important for tracing the history of the people, but politically the old kingdoms were strictly local, like many others of the minor principalities in the country.

The Cholas and the Cheras seem to have become of some importance about the date of the Christian era and the Pallavas to have become rulers about 300 A.D. The Cholas also seem to have preserved a harassed existence between the Pândyas and th Pallavas till about 900 A.D., when Parântaka I Chola (c. 901–953) overthrew both of them. In 985 came a mighty man to the Chola throne, Râjarâja the Great (c. 985–1018), and then came Râjendra Choladeva (c. 1018-1035), an equally great conqueror, followed by Râjâdhirâja (1035–1053) a renowned fighter. Subsequently on the failure of the male succession in 1074, the throne fell to relative in the female line, Kulôttunga Chola (1074–1118), the hero of the revenue survey of the Tamil dominions in 1086—the year of the Domesday Book. After him the great dynasty struggled on till 1287 and then came Malik Kâfûr, the Muhammadan raider, and finally the mighty Vijayanagar rule (c. 1370), which, however, belongs to Mediæval history. Such is the merest outline of Chola rule, which, however, reckoned among its members some of the greatest personal rulers in South India, and left behind it the record of a system of government worth the study of all nationalities.

Dr. Vincent Smith next tackles what may be called the burning question of South Indian research: who were the Pallavas ? He quite rightly discards the theory that they were probably a Pahlavî (Persian. Parthian) clan, *i.e.*, Râjputs of some kind, who obtained rule in South India. It is now quite certain that they were a local tribe or family which rose to power in the early Christian centuries and were not Tamils. Dr. Vincent Smith as usual ably sums up the evidence available to him as to what they really were, but, as Mr. Edwardes says in his preface, still further evidence came to light while the book was in the Press which could not be digested—a fate that happens off and on practically to all engaged in research. So the question is still unsettled and indeed the research itself is still not finished. For centuries the Pallavas were important and some of them were great rulers. They had indeed so great an effect on South India and in fact vicariously on India generally that it is most desirable to ascertain all that is possible about them. Mahendravarman I (c. 600–625) was an important Monarch, followed by Narasimhavarman I (c. 625–645), the greatest of all. The decline of the Pallava power began with Nandivarman (c. 720–782), and the dynasty went on fighting till it was overthrown by the Cholas at the beginning of the tenth century. During all this period, there existed two kingdoms of the Gangas—the Western in Mysore and the Eastern in Kalinga on the East Coast. They each produced a great king: Śripurusha (725–756) of the Western branch, and Anantavarma Cholaganga (1076–1147) of the Eastern.

With these remarks Dr. Vincent Smith ends his last edition of a great work, with which his name must ever be associated. As a very old student of Indian history, I cannot too highly express my admiration of the research and the knowledge exhibited and the clearness with which the results thereof have been recorded. Mr. Edwardes, with characteristic modesty, hides his share as much as he can, but I suspect that more of the footnotes and the emendations in the text than would at first appear are due to his pen. Between them the authors have produced a work which is not only as accurate as is possible, but gives the student a clear and comprehensive view of ancient Indian history.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.

(A Critical Review of the Legend.)

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

[THE accompanying letter has been received by me from a scholar, who is himself a St. Thomas Christian of Southern India. It is published here in order to assist in the elucidation of the difficulties surrounding the much disputed legend that the Apostle St. Thomas preached and died at Mylapore near Madras. The writer's remarks are of greater value from the fact that he is so far from being didactic as to be perfectly willing to be convinced that he is wrong in believing that St. Thomas never went to South India. He is thus placing himself in no real antagonism to those who hold the opposite opinion. In view of the forthcoming works of Dr. Farquhar and Fr. Hosten on the St. Thomas legend, his observations may prove to be of much importance. In any case it is worth while from the point of view of an honest search for the truth to have them on record.—R. C. TEMPLE.]

" I am a St. Thomas Christian and I have long studied closely the South Indian tradition, both oral and recorded, about St. Thomas. The more I study it, the more I am confirmed in my belief that St. Thomas, the Apostle, never went to South India. I ask leave to set forth my argument to you, but I am quite ready to be beaten and convinced by those who believe in the truth of the statement that St. Thomas was in South India and died at Mylapore. Briefly, my position is as follows :

1. There is nothing in *The Acts of Judas Thomas* to indicate that the journey of St. Thomas by cart from the kingdom of Gondophares was to South India.

2. St. Thomas, according to *The Acts*, was martyred in Mazdai's kingdom (which, I suppose, was somewhere in North-West India) close to that of Gondophares.

3. The saint who lies buried in Mylapore—I call him the Calamina saint—died in circumstances quite different from those of St. Thomas's martyrdom. *Vide* Medlycott's *India and Thomas*, London, 1905, pp. 122-126, where unadulterated pre-Portuguese versions recorded by Marco Polo and Marignolli are given. The author's 'saving face' theory (pp. 129, 131) does not commend itself to me.

4. The bones of St. Thomas were removed from Mazdai's kingdom to Edessa, but those of the Calamina saint have been believed by us and our ancestors to have remained in his tomb at Mylapore entire and intact. True, the Portuguese who opened the tomb in the sixteenth century did not find the bones, but only debris. Quite naturally. Bones kept in a tomb for about fifteen centuries will not be converted into fossils, but will crumble into dust.

5. If St. Thomas it was that died at Calamina near Mylapore, we should have celebrated the feast of 21st December. We *do not* observe it, but instead celebrate the feast of the 3rd day of the month of Tômmûs, which this year corresponds to the 16th of July. It is with us a *mâṛânâya* or great festival, called the *dukrânâ* in Syriac, which means commemoration. This 3rd July, or rather 3rd Tômmûs, is the day of the deposition of the relics in Edessa (Medlycott, *op. cit.*, p. 27, footnote 1).

6. Our tradition says that St. Thomas set up seven crosses in Malabar. There seems to be an anachronism here, which nobody has yet looked into. According to the canonical *Acts of the Apostles*, none of the apostles mentioned therein set up crosses, not even the one who said, " let me not glory save in the cross."

7. Now, as to our (Malabar) tradition, which nobody before me has carefully scrutinized, no recorded pre-Portuguese version has come down to us, although pre-Portuguese versions of the Mylapore tradition are extant (*cf.* Marco Polo and Marignolli).

8. The earliest recorded Portuguese versions contain no dates, neither 52 A.D. for the advent of St. Thomas, nor 72 A.D. for his martyrdom, nor any other. These, therefore, must be regarded as inventions of the Portuguese period. The date 52 A.D. must have been pitched upon, because it is just subsequent to the year 51 A.D. in which, according to some historians, all the

apostles met in synod at Jerusalem. Some of our prose accounts of St. Thomas give 51 A.D. instead of 52, and a Malayalam song of 1601 A.D. has 50 A.D. for the advent of St. Thomas.

9. The incidents of the Andrapolis of Sandaruk section of *The Acts*, which evidently took place before St. Thomas reached Gondaphares' kingdom, are found in the extant Portuguese period versions of our tradition. The incidents of the Gondophares or Gudnaphar section also are in them. These undoubtedly took place in North-West India.

10. The Portuguese missionaries must probably have read the *Passio* (published *c.* 1480) and *De Miraculis* (published 1531 and 1552) in printed form, and made their Malayali students in the seminaries of Malabar read them too. These missionaries and students most probably transferred the incidents of the Sandaruk and Gudnaphar sections of *The Acts* into our genuine, pristine tradition and gave it the present form. See section VIII of Joseph's *What Thomas Wrote*, in *The Young Men of India* (Calcutta), May, 1926.

11. There is no means of ascertaining what our genuine tradition (in Malabar) was in pre-Portuguese times. (See 13 and 14 *infra*).

12. The Greek and Syriac writers from *c.* 700 A.D. onwards must have got the name Calamina (which I am almost sure is Chinnamalai, the name of The Little Mount near Mylapore, metamorphosed) from the pre-Portuguese tradition of Malabar or Mylapore. *Vide* Medlycott, pp. 150 ff., 98–100, and W. R. Philipps in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903–04, for Calamina. Also Joseph's "Malabar Miscellany," *Ind. Ant.*, 1924, pp. 93–95.

13. There is, however, a residue left, if from our extant tradition all elements derived from the Syriac Liturgy and from the Latin versions of *The Acts*, and those (like the dates) interpolated in the Portuguese period, are removed.

14. This residuum or residual tradition may be regarded as our pre-Portuguese tradition.

15. It says (*a*) that St. Thomas came to Malabar, founded seven churches and set up seven crosses ; (*b*) that he passed on to the East Coast, and was (as Marco Polo and Marignolli say) accidentally wounded (at Calamina), died and was buried in Mylapore.

16. This residual tradition, too, may contain the accretions of centuries. For instance, (*a*) the name St. Thomas, added by confusion arising from the annual celebration of the important 3rd Tômmûs feast, and (*b*) the seven crosses added long after the Nestorians came and set up the Pahlavi-inscribed crosses, four of which have already been discovered in Malabar.

Who, then, was the missionary who came and evangelized Malabar and the Coromandel Coast and lies buried in Mylapore ? None can say. Several theories are possible. Mine is that he was a saintly missionary sent from Edessa after the deposition of St. Thomas's relics and the institution of the 3rd Tômmûs feast there. He might have been sent by King Abgar IX who reigned in Edessa, A.D. 179–214 (*Medlycott*, p. 295, and *Encyc. Brit. s.v.* Abgar) and was converted. This missionary (perhaps a Thomas) must have introduced the Syriac liturgy and the 3rd Tômmûs feast into South India. He died and was buried, and in course of time the grand St. Thomas feast engendered the notion that the saint lying buried at Mylapore was St. Thomas himself. The church in North-West India died out in the early centuries after Christ, and so could not put in a counter-claim. Neither could Edessa say where in India their relics had come from. Chinnamalai (Calamina), the place where the Edessene saint died, was shown to travellers as the place of St. Thomas's martyrdom. From them it (Calamina) found its way into Greek writings of *c.* 700. This is my speculation. It may or may not be correct.

May I now offer some remarks on a few names in *The Acts* ?

1. Mazdai of *The Acts* is not a proper name, but a modified Iranian or Parthian form of Sanskrit Mahâdêva, which means Great King. Dêva in Sanskrit, may be god or king. For the title Mahâdêva applied to a king, see *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 539, where there is a coin legend *Mahâdêvasa rāñô Dharâghôshasa Oudumbarisa*.

2. Sifur, the general of King Mazdai, may be Aspavarman, *strategos* or commander-in-chief of Gondophares (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 577, 578, 580, 581). Aspavarman may

have been the *strategos* of Mazdai also, who, I suppose, was Gondophares' viceroy in Arachosia. As regards (Aspavar)man, the bracketed portion of the long name may, I think, be found in Sifur, *Man* being omitted as an inconvenient caudal appendage.

3. Quantaria (*Medlycott*, p. 285) of the Ethiopic version of *The Acts* may be Kandahar (Arachosia).

So in my opinion St. Thomas died in Arachosia. But Calamina need not be looked for there. It is Chinnamalai near Mylapore in South India.

It will be very illuminating if Dr. Mingana (of the John Rylands Library) and other scholars take up the study of the extent and duration of the early Christian Church in India —from Bactria to Betuma (near Singapore, not Mylapore) and from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas—from ancient Syriac and Arabic Sources."[1]

VYAGHRA, THE FEUDATORY OF VAKATAKA PRITHIVISENA.

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.

IN volume LV, page 103, Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil's indentification of the Uccha-kalpa chief Vyâghra is presented to us in English by Sir R. C. Temple. The learned professor quotes the recently discovered inscriptions published by Dr. Sukthankar in volume XVII, page 12, of the *Epigraphia Indica*, where a Vyâghra Dêvâ is referred to "as meditating on the feet of Vâkâṭaka Prithivîsêna." This inscription, as well as the two others of Prithivîsêna published by Cunningham and Fleet[1], give no further detail than that the ruler Vyâghra who made the grants was a feudatory of the Vâkâṭakas. As the professor has pointed out the Ucchakalpas had a neighbouring kingdom ruled over by another family of chieftains. Their boundaries happened to be contiguous along a part of the course of the river Tons (Tamasa) in Central India. A boundary stone fixed by a Divisional Officer refers to the Parivrâjaka Mahârâja Hastin and Ucchakalpa Śarvanâtha as ruling at the time, thus indicating clearly that they were contemporary rulers at the time of the planting of this pillar.[2] The further fact is also correctly stated that the Parivrâjaka Hastin dates his grants in the Gupta Era,[3] clearly stating it in so many words. These dates extend from A.D. 475 to 511. Of the other Sarvanâtha Ucchakalpa, we have also three inscriptions dated respectively, 193, 197, and 214 of an Era which is not specifically stated. As two of Hastin's dates work out respectively to G.E. 191, G.E. 189 with a possible alternative of 201, and if these two dates for Hastin happen to be correct, and if Hastin was, as the Bhumara pillar inscription states, the contemporary of Sarvanâtha, Śarvanâtha's dates 193 to 214, though not referring to any particular Era specifically, may have to be referred to the Gupta Era. If it is taken as equivalent to the Traikûtaka Era, because in the locality concerned that Era could have been in vogue, there would be a difference of a century almost between the two rulers. It seems, therefore, very likely that Sarvanâtha's dates are also to be referred to the Gupta Era. If this position is assumed to be correct, Hastin in his last years of rule would have been contemporary with Sarvanâtha in the early years of his reign. Śarvanâtha was a grandson of a Vyâghra. Of the Ucchakalpas the first chief to achieve any prominent position seems to have been Vyâghra's son Jayanâtha, as far as we know about them at present. We have two dates for him, 174 and 177, or A.D. 493 and 497, on the basis that the dates are of the Gupta Era. If Vyâghra the father ruled before him, his probable date would be about A.D. 475.

1 P.S.—Dr Mingana has already published his elaborate study in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926, and very kindly sent me a complimentary copy. The Syriac sources he draws upon are disappointingly lacking in early specific references to particular localities in India, although vague references to 'India' by name abound in them. From page 35 of the reprint of Dr. Mingana's study it is seen that Barhebrœus says that not much later than A.D. 795, in the time of Patriarch Timothy I. (A.D. 779—823) the Christians of North-West India called themselves *Christians of St. Thomas* —T.K.J.

1 *Arch Survey Rep.*, XXI, 97 and *F.G.I.*, pp. 233 ff.

2 Bhumara Pillar inscription. *F.G.I.*, p. 111.

3 *F.G.I.*, pp. 95, 102, 107, 114.

The region over which the Ucchakalpas ruled is the part of Central India through which runs the river Tons more to the westward than to the east. Hastin ruled probably to the west of this roughly. The succession of the two families can be arranged in the following tables for ready reference :—

Parivrâjakas.	*Ucchakalpas.*
Dêvâḍhya or Dêvâhya.	Oghadêva.
Prabhanjana	Kumâradêva.
Damodara.	Jayasvâmin.
Hastin. dates G.E. 156, 163, 191, 189 (or 201) (c. A.D. 475–511).	Vyâghra.
Saṁkshobha G.E. 209 (A.D. 528–529).	Jayanâtha. date G. E. ? 174, 177, (c. A.D. 493–497)
	Śarvanâtha date G.E. 193, 197, 214 (c. A.D. 512–534).

From these tables it is clear that Hastin could have been contemporary with Śarvanâtha, his father Jayanâtha, and even his grandfather Vyâghra. If Professor Dubreuil's identification of the Ucchakalpa Vyâghra with the Vyâghra of the Nachna and Ganj inscription should be correct, Vâkâṭaka authority must have been acknowledged in Bundelkhand and Baghalkhand. In the immediate neighbourhood, however, Hastin specifically acknowledges the authority of the Guptas, dating his grants in the Gupta Era. There is perhaps nothing impossible in this position, as two friendly powers may have exercised authority in territories contiguous to each other. But the difficulty arises when it is admitted, as the Professor admits, that Jayanâtha's and Śarvanâtha's dates are in the Gupta era. If they dated their documents in the Gupta era, the presumption would be that they were Gupta feudatories ordinarily. There is the further point that none of the later Ucchakalpas acknowledges the authority of the Vâkâṭakas, while the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions actually acknowledge the authority of Prithivîśêna Vâkâṭaka. Could we imagine that Vyâghra about the year A.D. 475 acknowledged the authority of Prithivîśêna, while his son and successor and his grandson do not make any acknowledgment of Vâkâṭaka authority and date their inscriptions in the Gupta era ? In fact, the professor's indentification of the two Vyâghras rests upon the dates of the Ucchakalpa feudatory, and Prithivîśêna II, Vâkâṭaka being near A.D. 475. There is the further fact, which the professor does not note, that the commands of Prithivîśêna II's father Narêndrasêna, according to the Balaghat plates, 'were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mêkhala, and Mâḷava,' and he is said to have held 'in check enemies bowed down by his prowess'. It may be possible to presume that the son inherited the territory and extensive authority of the father, and therefore Prithivîśêna II exercised authority in the same region as well. Prithivîśêna II's date may be about A.D. 475, perhaps without much margin for error. Having granted so much, have we enough for the identification of the Vyâghra of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions with Vyâghra the Ucchakalpa ?

It would be difficult to sustain the identification. The first point to notice is that while the shorter inscriptions acknowledge the authority of the Vâkâṭaka, the more detailed later inscriptions of Jayanâtha and Śarvanâtha do not do so. Next, the later inscriptions date the documents in the Gupta era as it must be conceded, which is incompatible with the acknowledgment of authority of the Vâkâṭakas who do not use the Gupta era or any other in their documents. Again, the identification might be accepted at least tentatively, if there had been no Vyâghra in that region, and no other Prithivîśêna among the Vâkâṭakas, whose authority may have extended to that region. On the contrary we have reference to a Vyâghra in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta ruling over Mahâkântâra. We have material,

satisfactory material, for regarding this Samudragupta as the contemporary of Vâkâṭaka Prithivîsêna I, who is described as a great conqueror and who extended his authority as far as Kuntala in the south, in the Ajanta Inscription.[4] It would be more reasonable to hold, therefore, that the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions are inscriptions of the Vyâghra who acknowledged the authority of the Vâkâṭakas under Prithivîsêna I. The contemporaneity of Prithivîsêna I and Samudragupta does not rest merely on the precarious evidence of Palæography. The Balaghat plates of Prithivîsêna II were on the basis of Palæographic evidence alone referred to the second half of the eighth century by Kielhorn[5], while Dr. Bühler on the same evidence of palæography assigned the Ajanta inscription of Harisêna, who must have been, however, almost a contemporary of Prithivîsêna II, and came immediately after him to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.[6] My friend, Dr. Sukthankar, editing the Ganj Inscription, considers Bühler's dating too early, and would assign the Ganj inscription to the seventh century A.D., and relies to some extent on Prof. Kielhorn's assumption of the eighth century for the Balaghat plates.[7] We have now much more reliable evidence for assigning dates to these rulers on the strength of recently discovered copper plate grants of a Vâkâṭaka queen, who claims to have been a Gupta princess. We shall now consider how far this will take us.

A Vâkâṭaka queen, Prabhâvatî Gupta, has been generally known to epigraphists for some time. In the grants of Vâkâṭaka Pravarasêna II, son of this queen, published by Dr. Fleet in the Gupta Inscriptions[8], she describes herself as the crowned queen of Vâkâṭaka Rudrasêna II, son of Prithivîsêna I. She describes her husband only as a Mahârâja. In the same document, she describes herself as the daughter of *Mahârâjâdhirâja Devagupta*.[9] Notwithstanding the fact that this was another name of Chandragupta, Dr. Fleet sought to identify this Dêvagupta with the ruler of that name among the later Guptas[10], to bring the dating in line with palæographic estimates. It was Professor Pathak who drew attention for the first time in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912, from another grant of this Prabhavatî Gupta since published,[11] to the fact that she described herself as the daughter of a *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Chandragupta, carrying the genealogy of the Guptas down to Chandragupta II. Another grant since discovered[12] confirms this, and it may be now taken as beyond doubt that Prabhâvatî Gupta, the crowned queen of Rudrasêna II and mother of Pravarasêna II, was the daughter of Chandragupta II, the great emperor, son of Samudragupta. Rudrasêna's father Prithivîsêna must have been contemporary with Chandragupta II, Vikramâditya. As Prithivîsêna I's reign is described in the Ajanta inscription as having been a comparatively long and prosperous one, we may take it that he was a contemporary of Samudragupta as well. It is just possible that he was contemporary even with Samudragupta's father.[13] That is not very material to our position here.

Among the southern monarchs that Samudragupta conquered and set free, the second prince in the list happens to be a Vyâghra, the ruler of Mahâkântâra. The first name is that of the ruler of Kosala. Where was the Mahâkântâra of which Vyâghra was the ruler? In the period to which these documents have reference almost up to the days of Harsha, Mahâkântâra must have included the Sagar division of the Central Provinces extending northwards certainly to the Ajaighad state in Bundelkhand. It is likely therefore that this Vyâghra is the chief under reference in the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions, both of which are in the Ajaighad state, and this Vyâghra must have acknowledged the authority of Prithivîsêna I Vâkâṭaka before Samudragupta conquered and set him free, obviously on the understanding that that Vyâghra changed his fealty from the Vâkâṭakas to the Guptas. We require

4 *A.S.W.I.*, vol. IV, p. 128. 5 *E.I.*, vol. IX, p. 270. 6 *A.S.W.I.*, vol. IV, p. 138.
7 *E.I.*, vol. XVII, p. 30. 8 *F.G.I.*, Nos. 55 and 56. 9 *F.G.I.*, p 33 Sanchi Ins. note.
10 *F.G.I.*, p. 215 and n. 7 on the page. 11 *Ep Indi*, XV, p. 39.
12 *Indian Antiquary.* 13 Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. IV, p. 41.

other reasons for holding that this was actually the course of events. In the Balaghat Plates of Prithivîsêna II, Kosala, Mêkhala and Mâḷava are mentioned in order, proceeding east to west and lying across the Vindhya mountains along the northern frontier of the Vâkâṭaka dominions proper. In the Samudragupta[14] inscription we begin with Kosala and pass on to Mahâkântâra, answering more or less roughly to the region extending north to south across Bundelkhand down to the Maikal range (Sanskrit : Mêkhala) and beyond. If we can imagine something like a design in the order of conquests of Samudragupta, we ought to suppose that he defeated the rulers of Âryâvarta and then proceeded on his southern conquests as a mere matter of ordinary caution, although the inscription for epic purposes puts the southern first. However that be, the consequence of his suppression of the northern rulers is described to be the reduction to his service of the various forest chieftains (*âtavika* Râjas). That means the region of these forest chieftains begins immediately from the borderland of Âryâvarta. We find inscriptions of Hastin describing him as ruler over the 'eighteen forest kingdoms'[15]. These eighteen forest kingdoms must have lain in and about the neighbourhood of Bundelkhand and Baghalkhand, and would answer almost exactly to the Mahâkântâra of Samudragupta, and the region extending southwards from the kingdom proper, if there was such a one. For our present purpose it is just enough if the territory indicated happens to be about the region extending southwards from Bundelkhand and Baghalkhand. If the chiefs had been reduced to servitude by the conquests of the northern kings, Samudragupta could safely march forward on his southern invasion. The Nachna and Ganj inscriptions may possibly refer to this Vyâghra, the powerful ruler of Mahâkântâra, to whose authority the various forest kingdoms may have been subordinate. If Samudragupta felt it necessary to conquer the kingdom, it must have been under another sphere of influence, to use a modern expression. What is the other authority to which these kingdoms could have been subject ?

It must be the authority of the rival kingdom of the Vâkâṭakas under one of their most important and powerful rulers, Prithivîsêna. The question may well be asked why the Samudragupta Pillar inscription does not mention the Vâkâṭakas as such, or Prithivîśêna as such. The only possible answer to that question seems to us to be that either as a result of a campaign of Samudragupta or before, the two must have come to an understanding and been in some kind of alliance, the relative spheres of their overlordships being more or less indefinite on the extreme frontier. That is the only satisfactory explanation for Samudragupta marching southwards almost as far south as Kanchi and returning along the coast road, without attempting an invasion of the Dekhan and the Southern Mahratta country, specifically stated to be under the authority of the Vâkâṭakas. This position is, to some extent, supported by the fact that the stone inscriptions of Nachna and Ganj frankly acknowledge the overlordship of the Vâkâṭaka, although in the form accessible to us the inscriptions are not quite full. As they are, they do not show any elaborate genealogical details, with which the later inscriptions of the Gupta period are usually prefaced, whether they be Gupta inscriptions or Vâkâṭaka. The inscriptions, as far as their form goes, are in keeping with early Gupta inscriptions even of Chandragupta II, Vikramâditya. The inscriptions merely state the actual ruler and proceed to detail the grant. This ought to be decisive that the Prithivîśêna referred to in these inscriptions should be regarded as Prithivîsêna I, the earlier of the two kings of the name.

As against this there stand the palæographical objections, the dates assigned to these on palæography alone being apart by almost three centuries. These palæographical objections should not be regarded as insuperable, as in the present state of palæographical studies we do find an error of two-and-a-half centuries possible. Such an experienced palæographist as the late professor Kielhorn referred the Balaghat inscription *on palæographical grounds* to the latter half of the eighth century. It was already pointed out that the inscription was intended to be

14 *F.G.I.*, pp 7 to 13.

15 *F.G.I.*, p 113, and references thereunder.

issued by the Vâkâṭaka Prithivîśêna II, only two generations removed from Pravaraśêna II, the son of Queen Prabhâvatî; Prabhâvatî Gupta being the daughter of Chandragupta II, her son Pravaraśêna must have been a contemporary of Kumâragupta, and his son Narêndraśêna and grandson Prithivîsêna II could not have gone very much beyond the forward limit of Kumâragupta's long reign. We may, therefore, ascribe to Prithivîśêna II a date about the end of the fifth century. Prof. Kielhorn's estimate is the end of the eighth century, the margin of error being as wide as about three centuries. Similarly in the case of the Ganj inscription Dr. Sukthankar's estimate is the sixth or seventh century, whereas on the basis of the Prabhâvatî Gupta's dating, it should be dated about the middle of the fourth century A.D., if it be accepted that the inscription was issued by a feudatory of Prithivîśêna I. With this possibility of error in palæographical estimates, it would be hardly possible to attach to palæography a decisive importance in fixing narrow periods, admitting to the fullest extent the possibility of comparative estimates of age on palæographical grounds: but palæographical arguments should not be pressed to the extent of being decisive, where other evidence of value or even of mere validity should indicate another dating.

If it is open to a comparative layman to offer an opinion on matters palæographical against such well-known experts, it strikes me that the Ganj inscription is of about the same character as the Udayagiri[16] cave inscription of Chandragupta, and it is not altogether without similarity of character to his Sanchi inscription.[17] If sufficient allowance be made for the difference of material, it is not without similarity of character to the copper-plate inscriptions issued from Sarabhapura[18]. It would be difficult to institute comparisons with inscriptions at great distances. Admitting the possibility, therefore, of differences due to material, and differences due to the skill of the individual who cut these out, I am not inclined to believe there is sufficient difference of character to warrant a difference of two or three centuries in point of age between the one and the other set.

There is a further point to which due weight ought to be given. Ucchakalpa Vyâghra's date is somewhere between A.D. 475 and 493. Almost in the middle of this period, the region concerned was under the authority of Budhagupta and his subordinates. In the year G.E. 165, corresponding to A.D. 484–485, Budhagupta was the overlord, and he had a viceroy in that region, Suraśmichandra, who was governing the country between the rivers Jumna and Narbada. There were sub-governors in the region of Eran, of whom we know of two brothers, Mâtṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu. Matṛivishṇu was contemporary with Budhagupta, and Dhanyavishṇu was contemporary with *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Toramaṇa, who seems to have succeeded to the government in that region. We have still another record dated G.E. 191, corresponding to A.D. 510–511, from which an inference seems possible that even Bânugupta ruled in that region and fought a battle against some enemy, losing his faithful general in the person of Goparaja, who fell fighting. The presumption, therefore, that the rule of the Guptas lasted through the whole of the fifth century in that region, and possibly during the earlier years of the sixth century, seems to be well-founded on fact. In the face of so much evidence to the contrary, it would be necessary to have much stronger evidence than has so far been produced for postulating the rule of the Vâkâṭakas in that region in the last quarter of the fifth century. Having regard to the different lines of evidence set forth, and the more or less well-established synchronism between the Vâkâṭakas and the Guptas on the relationship of the two families through Prabhâvatîgupta, it would seem much more justifiable to identify the Vyâghradêva of Nachna and Ganj inscriptions with the Vyâghrarâja of Mahâkântâra of the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription rather than the Ucchakalpa Vyâghra, regarding whom we do not even know the fact that he actually ruled. Fresh evidence may upset this conclusion, but till then this seems the more justifiable position to take.

16 *F.G.I.*, p. 28, plate opposite. 17 *F.G.I.*, p. 36, plate opposite. 18 *F.G.I.*, Nos. 40, 41.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from page* 208.)

1, 148, 3 : *nitye cin nú yáṃ sádane jagṛbhré*
praśastibhir dadhiré yajñiyâsah |
prá sû' nayanta gṛbháyanta ishṭá'r
áśvâso ná rathyò rârahâṇá'h ||

" Whom the worshipful (gods) caught hold of in his own place, carried with praises, and holding him and speeding like the horses of a chariot led him in the sacrifice". The reference here is to the original carrying off of Agni from his place in the highest heavens by Mâtariśvan. Vivasvat, Bhṛgu, the devâḥ, etc.; compare 10, 46, 9 : *dyâ'vâ yám agníṃ pṛthivî' janishṭâm â'pas tváshṭá bhṛ'gavo yáṃ sáhobhiḥ* | *iḻényaṃ prathamáṃ mâtariśvá devá's tatakshur mánave yájatram* and also Macdonnell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 71. The word *yajñiyâḥ* refers to the deities above-named.

1, 140, 12 : *ráthâya ná'vam utá no gṛhá'ya*
nityâritrâṃ padvátîṃ râsy agne |
asmá'kaṃ vîrá'ñ utá no maghóno
jánâṃś ca yá' pâráyâc chárma yá' ca ||

" Give us for chariot and for house, O Agni, a ship that has its own oars (that is to say, that is propelled of itself) and (moves on its own) feet, that will carry over our sons and our patrons and our people, and that is a shelter."

5, 85, 7 : *aryamyáṃ varuṇa mitryáṃ vâ*
sákhâyaṃ vâ sádam íd bhrá'taraṃ vá |
veśáṃ vâ nityaṃ varuṇá'raṇaṃ vá
yát sîm â'gaś cakṛmá' śiśráthas tát ||

" Free us from the sin, O Varuṇa, that we have committed against our companion, friend, acquaintance, or brother or our own neighbour or stranger ".

7, 88, 6 : *yá âpír nityo varuṇa priyáḥ sán*
tvá'm â'gâṃsi kṛṇávat sákhâ te |
má' ta énasvanto yakshin bhujema
yandhí shmâ vípra stuvaté várútham ||

" He, O Varuṇa, who being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil towards you,—may we not, being sinful feel (thy might), O mighty one. Grant, O thou that art wise, protection (literally, cover) to thy praiser." The *yaḥ* beginning the first half-verse has apparently no antecedent in correlation with it ; but there does not seem to be any doubt that in reality it has for antecedent the plural *vayam* that is to be supplied in the third *pâda* ; the meaning therefore is : " Though, O Varuṇa, I, being thy own dear friend and comrade, have sinned against thee, do not, O mighty one, make me suffer for it, but graciously become, thou that art wise (and therefore knowest that I am not solely responsible for such sins) the shelter and protector of me that am now praying to you." Compare in this connection the following two verses likewise addressed by Vasishṭha to Varuṇa—7. 87, 7 : *yó mṛḻáyâti cakrúshe cid â'gaḥ* ' who (Varuṇa) is beneficent and gracious even to one that has committed sins against him ' and 7, 86, 6 : *ná sá svó dáksho varuṇa dhrútiḥ sâ' súrâ manyúr vibhî'dako ácittiḥ* | *ásti jyâ'yân kánîyasa upâré svápnaś canéd ánṛtasya prayotá'* " It is not my own impulse, O Varuṇa ; it is predestination, drink, anger, dice, or ignorance (that has led me to sin) ; there is the elder close to the younger (who has to bear the responsibility, either for having prompted the sin or for not having prevented its commission) ; even sleep is the promoter of acts against the Law (*ṛta*)".

3, 53, 24 : *imá indra bharatásya putrâ'*
apapitvám cikitur ná prapitvám |
hinvánty áśvam áraṇam ná nityam
jyâ'vâjam pári ṇayanty âjaú ||

This verse is the last of a quartet of verses known as *vasishṭhadveshiṇyaḥ* as they have been written, it is said, in disparagement of the Vasishṭhas. It is clear that the verse speaks of the stupidity of the Bharatas; but, for the rest, its exact sense has not yet been made out; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* I, p. 256. I translate tentatively as follows: "These sons of Bharata, O Indra, know neither the time for resting nor that for going. They ride their own horse as if it were another's; in battle, they carry round ceremoniously the (bow) strengthened with bow-string." 'Riding their own horse as if it were another's' means, not so much 'so ungeschickt und dem Tier ungewohnt wie ein fremder Jockey' (Geldner in *Ved. St.* 2, p. 160, n. 5) as 'using the horse unsparingly as if it were another's; not taking proper care of the horse;' for, it is natural on the part of the owner of the horse to use it carefully and not to beat it cruelly or make it strain its powers and go beyond its strength, while it is as natural for one who is not the owner to pay no attention to the horse or its capacity but to make it go as fast as it can be made by blows and other similar means to go. Compare the saying current in the Kannaḍa country, *biṭṭi kudurĕ âvarikĕ cabbĕ*, 'another's horse, and a rod cut from the âvarikĕ (*cassia auriculata*, Lin.; a shrub that is found almost everywhere; the rods cut from it are regarded as unusually tough) shrub (to beat it with so as to make it go faster)' and the English proverb 'Set a beggar on horseback and he will ride it to death'. In the fourth *pâda*, the European interpreters have understood the word *jyâvâja* as referring to a horse and meaning 'strong (swift) as bow-string.' This may perhaps be looked upon as an ordinary figure of speech in European languages in which things or persons are commonly described as being as tough or as strong as 'whipcord' or 'wire', as being 'wiry', etc.; but, I do not know of any instance in Indian literature where the *upameya* is described to be as strong (or as swift) as bow-string. The idea in fact is, I believe, quite unknown and wholly foreign not only to Sanskrit literature but to other Indian literatures as well. I believe therefore that Sâyaṇa is right in regarding the word as an epithet of *dhanus* understood here. The verb *pari-ṇî* does not mean simply 'to lead round; to carry round' a thing or person but to do so ceremoniously (hence, *pari-ṇî* means also 'to marry' as in the ceremony the bride is led by hand thrice round the fire). The sense therefore of the fourth *pâda* is 'These stupid Bharatas, instead of using a bow, that is strung and ready for use, in battle to shoot arrows with, carry it ceremoniously in procession'! Compare the first *pâda* of the preceding verse, *ná sâ'yakasya cikite janâsaḥ* 'an arrow was not thought of, O men (by these Bharatas when they brought the strung bow to the battle-field).'

This closes the list of passages in the RV in which the word *nitya* occurs. It will have been noticed that I have interpreted this word either as (1) *sviya, sahaja,* 'own' or as (2) *priya,* 'dear' and that such interpretation has everywhere yielded good sense. It is however true that the meaning (3) *dhruva* also (which the word *nitya* has in the *Brâhmaṇas* and in later literature) is not inappropriate in some of the above passages, for instance, in 4, 4, 7; 4, 41, 10; 9, 12, 7; 1 73, 4 and 7, 1, 2; but I have felt it unnecessary to adopt that meaning for the RV inasmuch as it is quite necessary to make use of the first two meanings in the RV and these two meanings are enough to explain all the passages (in the RV) in which the word *nitya* occurs. The assumption of the third meaning *dhruva* also for the RV would, in these circumstances, mean a needless multiplication of meanings.

As regards the first two meanings, too, it must be observed that in some passages it is difficult to choose between the two as either will do equally well in them. Thus, for instance, one can also interpret *nityam kshayam naḥ* in 7, 1, 12 as 'our own house,' *nityena havishâ* in 4, 4,

7 as ' by (his) own oblation,' ***nityayâ vâcâ*** in 8, 75, 6 as 'with (thy) own voice,' ***nityâd râyaḥ*** in 5, 8, 2 as 'from (his) desirable wealth' and *nityaṃ sadaḥ* in 9, 92, 3 as ' beloved seat.' In such passages, I have preferred one of them to the other and chosen what seemed to me to be the better, considering the context, of the two meanings. I believe, however, that the poet must have had both meanings in his mind when he ' wrote ' such passages, and that the more correct course to follow would be to make use of both of them together in the explanation—a course that is occasionally followed by Indian commentators.[3]

I can not say how the (third) meaning *dhruva* came to attach itself to the word *nitya* (see, however, Max Müller, *SBE.*, 32, p. 215); but it is easy to understand how the (second) meaning *priya* has developed from that of *svîya, sahaja.* What is one's ' own ', is, in this world, generally, ' dear ' to one, which explains how *nitya* originally meaning *svîya, sahaja* came to have the secondary meaning *priya* also.

It is remarkable that the converse also is true : what is ' dear ' to one will generally be acquired and made one's ' own ' or at least, will be the object of endeavours to acquire and make one's ' own '. Hence it has also come about that the word *priya* itself which primarily means ' dear, pleasing, agreeable,' etc., has the secondary meaning ' own '.

The number of passages in the Vedas where *priya* has the sense ' own ' is indeed considerable ; but, so far, in two or three passages only have the Vedic interpreters recognised that *priya* = own. One such passage is 1, 82, 2: *ákshann ámîmadanta hyá va priyâ' adhûshata* where Sâyaṇa explains *priyâḥ* as *svakîyâs tanûḥ avâdhûshata akampayan*; Ludwig, too, translates *priyâḥ* here as ' sich ' while Grassmann (*Translation*) and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, p. 83) adhere to the meaning ' dear '. Another passage is 1, 114, 7 : *mâ naḥ priyâ's tanvò rudra rîrishaḥ* (with which should be compared the parallel passage from AV. 11, 2, 29 : *svâ'ṃ tanvàṃ rudra mâ' rîrisho naḥ*) where Sâyaṇa adheres to the meaning ' dear ', but which has been correctly explained by Bergaigne (III, 152) as ' nos propres corps, ' by Ludwig as ' unsere eigenen lieber ' and by Max Müller (*SBE.*, 32, p. 423) as ' our own bodies.' Max Müller has also (*op. cit.*, p. 425) added the following note : " Priya, dear, used like Gk. philos., in the sense of our own. See Bergaigne III, 152 ". With these exceptions,[4] the word *priya* is everywhere explained as ' dear,' ' agreeable,' ' pleasant,' etc., by the exegetists, though, as said above, in a considerable number of passages, the word *priya* is used, not in that sense at all, but in that of ' own.' This is specially the case in the passages which contain compounds with *priya* as a component word :

8, 27, 19 : *yád adyá sû'rya udyatí príyakshatrâ ṛtáṃ dadhá* |
yán nimrúci prabúdhi viśvavedaso yád vâ madhyáṃdine diváḥ ||

" Whether you uphold *ṛta*, O ye that are independent, when the sun rises to-day, or when he goes down, or at midday or at daybreak (literally, at the time of awaking from sleep), O ye that possess all wealth". The hymn in which this verse occurs is addressed to the Viśve Devâḥ or All-Gods to whom therefore the vocatives *priyakshatrâḥ* and *viśvavedasaḥ* are addressed. *Priyakshatrâḥ* here does not mean ' whose rule is agreeable (freundlich herrschend; PW, Grassmann, Ludwig) ; but *priya* here = ' own,' *sva*, and *priyakshatrâḥ* = *svakshatrâḥ*, ' ruling

[3] I cite here some instances of this kind from Sâyaṇa's *Vedabhâshya*. ***Purîsham*** = ***udakam***, 5, 55, 5 ; *purîshât* = *pûrakât maṇḍalât*, 10, 27, 21 ; *purîshât* = *sarvakâmânâṃ pûrakât udakât*, 1, 163, 1 (Ved. St. 1, p. vi) ; *atkaḥ* = *vyâptaḥ*. 8, 41, 7 ; *atkam* = *rûpam*, 1, 122, 2 ; *atkam* = *vyâptarûpam*, 10, 123, 7 (*Ibid.* 2, p. 193); *iriṇaṃ* = *ûsharapradeśam*, 1, 186, 9 ; *iriṇam* = *nistṛṇaṃ taṭâkadeśam*, 8, 4, 3 ; *iriṇam* = *nistṛṇam ûsharasthânam* *Śatap. Br.*, 7, 2, 68 ; (*Ibid.* 2, p. 223); *drapsam* = *drutagâminam*, 8, 96, 14 ; *drapsaḥ* = *rasaḥ* 10, 17, 13 ; *drapsâḥ* = *drutagâmino rasâḥ*, 9, 106, 8 ; *ûrvât* = *vistṛtât*, 4, 12, 5 ; *ûrvaḥ* = *baḍabânalaḥ*, 3, 30, 19 ; *ûrva* = *vistṛtâgne*, *TS.* 5, 10, 6 (*Ibid.*, 2, p. 269).

[4] Further, Oldenberg has suggested (*SBE.*, 46, p. 62) that *priya* may have the sense ' own,' in 1, 67, 6. Not only in 1, 67, 6 but in 3, 5, 5 ; 3, 7, 7 and 4, 5, 8 does *priya*, in my opinion, mean ' own.' The sense of these passages, however, is obscure and I have therefore been unable to include them in those that follow, where *priya* = ' own.'

themselves, independent.' Compare 5, 48, 1 : *kád u priyâ'ya dhâ'mne manâmahe svákshatrâya sváyaśase mahê vayám* which is likewise addressed to the Viśve Devâḥ who are here called *svakshatrâḥ* ; compare also 1, 165, 5 where the Maruts are described as *svakshatrâḥ*. *Priyakshatra* is thus a synonym of *svakshatra, svarâj, svapati.*

8, 71, 2 : *nahí manyúḥ paúrusheya î'śe hi vaḥ priyajâta* |
tvám íd asi kshápâvân ||

"The anger of man, O (Agni) born of thyself, has no power over you ; thou indeed art the ruler of the earth". *Priyajâta* here does not mean 'als freund geborener' (Ludwig) or 'erwünscht geboren' (Grassmann), but is equivalent to *svajâta*, 'born of his own self', a description that is frequently made of Agni ; compare *agne tanvâ' sujâta* in 3, 15, 2 ; compare also the epithet *tanûnapât*, 'son of self' used of Agni.

10, 150, 3 : *tvâ'm u jâtávedasaṃ viśvávâraṃ gṛṇe dhiyâ'* |
ágne devâ'ṅ â' vaha naḥ priyávratân mṛlî'kâ'ya priyávratân ||

"I praise thee, Jâtavedas, that hast all desirable things, with hymn. Bring to us, O Agni, the gods, whose are the ordinances—for grace, (those) whose are the ordinances". *Priyavratân* =*svavratân*, those whose are the ordinances ; that is, either (1) those who follow their own ordinances (*cp.* 3, 7, 7 : *devâ' devâ'nâm ánu hi vratâ' gúḥ* 'the gods followed the ordinances of the gods') and not those of others ; that is to say, those who are independent, sovereign ; or what comes to the same thing, (2) those from whom come the divine ordinances which are followed in the universe ; compare 1, 164, 50 : *yajñéna yajñám ayajanata devâ's tâ'ni dhármâṇi prathamâ'ny âsan* : 3, 56, 1 : *ná tâ' minanti mâyíno ná dhîrâ vratâ' devâ'nâṃ prathamâ' dhruvâ'ṇi* ; 1, 36, 5 : *tvê víśvâ sáṃgatâni vratâ' dhruvâ' yâ'ni devâ' ákṛṇvata*, and the expression *daivyâni vratâni* (see Grassmann, s.v. *vrata*).

1, 140, 1 : *vedisháde priyádhâmâya sudyúte*
dhâsím iva prá bharâ yónim agnáye |
vástreṇeva vâsayâ mánmanâ śúciṃ
jyotî'rathaṃ śukrávarṇaṃ tamohánam ||

"Offer, like food, a place for Agni, who sits on the altar, whose are the laws and who shines well. Adorn with the hymn, as if with an ornament, (Agni), the bright, the destroyer of darkness, the brilliant-coloured, who has a chariot of splendour". *Priyadhâmâya*=*svadhâmne*=*svavratâya* in either of the meanings given above. Compare 3, 21, 2 where Agni is addressed as *svadharman* 'following his own laws'; regarding the second sense, compare the epithet *vratapâḥ* (see Grassmann, s.v.) that is applied to Agni ; compare also 7, 6, 2 : *agnér vratâ'ni pûrvyâ' mahâ'ni* ; 2, 8, 3 : *yásya* (sc. *agner*) *vratáṃ ná mî'yate* ; 1, 69, 7 : *nákish ṭa* (*agneḥ*) *etâ' vratâ' minanti* ; and 6, 7, 5 : *vaiśvânara táva tâ'ni vratâ'ni mahâ'ny agne nákir â'dadharsha.* In the second *pâda* the word *iva* has really the force of *ca* and *dhâsim iva yoniṃ prabhara* means *dhâsiṃ yoniṃ ca prabhara.*

There can be no doubt that the word *priyadhâman* has this same meaning in AV. 17, 1, 10 also : *tváṃ na indrotíbhiḥ śivâ'bhiḥ śáṃtamo bhava* | *árôhaṃs tridiváṃ divó gṛṇânáḥ sómapîtaye priyádhâmâ svastáye* . . . . "Do thou, O Indra, be most beneficent to us with propitious aids—(thou) ascending to the triple heaven of the heaven, praised (that is, invoked) for drinking the Soma and for well-being, sovereign . . . "

TS. 1, 3, 8, 1 : *révatîr yajñápatiṃ priyadhâ' viśata*

The Maitr. Saṃ. (1, 2, 15 ; p. 25, 1, 7) and the Kâṭh. Saṃ. (3, 6 ; p. 25, 1, 13) read *revati predhâ yajñapatim âviśa.* while the Vâj. Saṃ. (6, 11) reads *revati yajamâne priyaṃdhâ âviśa.* It seems clear therefore that *priya* has become shortened to *pre-* in *predhâ* and that the *anusvâra* in *priyaṃdhâ* is an intruder. The word itself is formed from *priya* with the suffix *dhâ* (see Whitney's *Grammar*, § 1104). *Priyadhâ* here is equivalent to *svadhâ*, and I translate : "O ye that

have riches, enter into the sacrificer according to your wont". The commentator Bhaṭṭabhâskara takes *revatîḥ* as an epithet of *paśvayavâḥ* while Uvaṭa and Mahîdhara interpret *revati* as referring to *vâk*.

Priya, uncompounded, has the meaning *sva*, 'own', in the following passages:—

1, 114, 7 : *mâ' no mahâ'ntam utá mâ' no arbhakáṃ*
mâ' na úkshantam utá mâ' na ukshitám |
mâ' no vadhîḥ pitáraṃ mótá mâtáraṃ
priyâ' mâ' nas tanvò rudra rîrishaḥ ||

"Do not injure our great or our small ones, our growing or our grown ones, our father or our mother, or our own selves, O Rudra".

1, 154, 5 : *tád asya priyá m abhí pâ'tho aśyâṃ*
náro yátra devayávo mádanti |
urukramásya sá hí bándhur itthâ'
víshṇoḥ padé paramé mádhva útsaḥ ||

"May I attain the abode, where pious people rejoice, of him whose steps are broad. He is thus our relation; there is a spring of honey in the supreme abode of Vishṇu." *Priyaṃ pâthaḥ* here has the same meaning as *priyaṃ dhâma* in the passages given below; it means the own abode of Vishṇu, *vishṇoḥ paramaṃ padam* as the fourth *pâda* expresses it, the Vishṇu-loka of later times.

1, 162, 2 : *yán nirṇijâ rêkṇasâ prâ'vṛtasya*
râtíṃ gṛbhîtâ'ṃ mukhatô náyanti |
súprâñ ajô mêmyad viśvárûpa
indrâpûshṇôḥ priyám ápy eti pâ'thaḥ ||

"When they lead (it) in front of the offering covered with wealth and jewels (that is, of the sacrificial horse), the goat of all forms, bleating, goes directly forward to the own abode of Indra and Pûshan".

10, 15, 5 : *úpahûtâḥ pitáraḥ somyâ'so*
barhishyèshu nidhíshu priyéshu |
tá â' gamantu tá ihá śruvantv
ádhi bruvantu tè'vantv asmâ'n ||

"The Soma-deserving fathers are called (to appear and seat themselves) in their own seats on the *barhis*. May they come here, hear us, speak assuringly to us and protect us." This verse, as also the two preceding verses are addressed to the *barhishadaḥ pitaraḥ*, the 'pitṛs that sit on the *barhis*'; hence the prayer to them to take their own seats on the *barhis*.

9, 55, 2 : *índo yáthâ táva stávo yáthâ te jâtám ándhasaḥ* |
ní barhíshi priyé sadaḥ ||

"O Indu, according to the praise addressed to thee (that is, the prayer) and to what has happened to thy juice, seat thyself on thy own *barhis* (that is, on thy own seat on the *barhis*)".

8, 13, 24 : *táṃ îmahe purushṭutáṃ yahváṃ pratnâ'bhir ûtíbhiḥ* |
ní barhíshi priyé sadad ádha dvitâ' ||

"We pray to him who is often-praised, who is active with protection extending from old time; may he seat himself on his own seat on the *barhis*".

1, 85, 7 : *tè'vardhanta svátavaso mahitvanâ'*
nâ'kaṃ tasthúr urú cakrire sádaḥ |
víshṇur yád dhâ'vad vṛ'shaṇaṃ madacyútaṃ
váyo ná sîdann ádhi barhíshi priyé ||

"They that are naturally mighty grew with their might; they went to heaven and made a large seat. When Vishṇu ran to the strong, intoxicating (Soma), they seated themselves in their own *barhis* like birds (in their nests)."

1, 189, 4 : *pâhí no agne pâyúbhir ájasrair*
utá priyê sádana â' śuśukvâ'n |
mâ' te bhayám jaritâ'ram yavishṭha
nûnám vidan mâ' paárm sahasvaḥ ||

" O Agni, do thou, shining in thy own abode, protect us with unwearied protections; O thou that art strong, the youngest, may not (thy) praiser suffer from any fear of thee or from any other fear ". The expression *priye sadana â śuśukvân* here corresponds exactly to *dìdivâ'ṁsam svê dáme*, 2, 2, 11 ; *dí'divim* (*várdhamânam*) *své dáme*, 1, 1, 8; *gopâ' ṛtásya didihi svê dáme*, 3, 10, 2; *svá â' yás túbhyam dáma â' vibhâ'ti*, 1, 71, 6; *yó dîdâ'ya sámiddhaḥ své durôṇe*, 7, 12, 1; and *dí'dyan mártyeshv â'|své ksháye śucivrata* in 10, 118, 1.

10, 13, 4 : *devébhyaḥ kám avṛṇîta mṛtyúm*
prajâ'yai kám amṛ'tam nâ'vṛṇîta |
bṛ'haspátim yajñám akṛṇvata ṛ'shim
priyâ'm yamás tanvám prâ'rirecit ||

" He held back death from the gods ; he did not hold back immortality from men ; he made Bṛhaspati the sacrifice and the *ṛshi* ; Yama let our own body (or self) remain".

9, 73, 2 : *samyák samyáñco mahishâ' aheshata*
síndhor ûrmâ'v ádhi venâ' avîvipan |
mádhor dhâ'râbhir janáyanto arkám ít
priyâ'm índrasya tanvám avîvṛdhan ||

" The beautiful strong ones have moved well forward ; the loving ones have moved in the wave of the sea ; with the streams of *madhu* producing a song, they have made Indra's own body grow ".

10, 132, 5 : *asmín sv ètác chákapûta êno*
hitê mitrê nigatân hanti vîrâ'n |
avôr vâ yád dhâ't tanû'shv
ávaḥ priyâsu yajñíyâsv árvâ ||

" Śakapûta kills the brave men that have committed this sin in respect of this well-disposed Mitra when the courser placed his strength in the own worshipful bodies of these two (sc. of Mitra and Varuṇa)". The meaning of this verse is not clear and widely-divergent explanations are given of it by Sâyaṇa and Ludwig. It is difficult to say who is denoted by the term *arvâ* (courser) in *pâda* 4 and if the word *śakapûta* is really a proper name.

2, 20, 6 : *sá ha śrutá índro nâ'ma devá*
ûrdhvô bhuvan mánushe dasmátamaḥ |
áva priyám arśasânásya sâhvâ'ñ
chíro bharad dâsásya svadhâ'vân ||

" He, the god known by the name of Indra, of most wonderful might, raised himself aloft high over man ; he, the mighty conqueror, brought down the own head of the evil-doing *dâsa.*"

8, 12, 32 : *yád asya dhâ'mani priyê samîcînâ'so asvaran* |
nâ'bhâ yajñásya dohánâ prâ'dhvaré ||

" When the united ones (priests ?) made a sound (song ?) in his own abode, in the navel of the sacrifice, by milking in the sacrifice."

6, 67, 9 : *prá yád vâm mitrâvaruṇâ spûrdhán*
priyâ' dhâ'ma yuvádhitâ minánti |
ná yê devâ'sa ôhasâ ná mártâ
áyajñasâco ápyo ná putrâ'ḥ ||

" When they, O Mitra and Varuṇa, become jealous of you and violate the own ordinances laid by you—they, who are by repute no gods and no mortals, who, like the sons of Apî, are no performers of sacrifice." The second half-verse is not clear ; in the first half-verse, the

expression *priyâ dhâma yuvadhitâ,* 'the own ordinances laid down by you', is equivalent to 'your own ordinances; the ordinances laid down by you in person'.

3, 55, 10 : *víshṇur gopâ'ḥ paramáṃ pâti pâ'thaḥ*
priyâ' dhâ'mâny amṛ'tâ dádhânaḥ |
agnísh ṭâ' víśvâ bhúvanâni veda
mahád devâ'nâm asuratvám ékam ||

"Vishṇu, the protector, rules over the supreme realm, supporting his own immortal abodes; Agni knows all those worlds. The *asura*-hood (might ?) of the gods is alone great."

4, 5, 4 : *prá tâ'ñ agnír babhasat tigmájambhas*
tápishṭhena śócishâ yáḥ surâ'dhâḥ |
prá yê minánti váruṇasya dhâ'ma
priyâ' mitrásya cêtato dhruvâ'ṇi ||

"May Agni, who has sharp jaws and who makes good gifts, eat up with his hottest flames those who violate the own immutable ordinances of Varuṇa and of Mitra who observes (or, who knows)."

1, 87, 6 : *śriyáse káṃ bhânúbhiḥ sáṃ mimikshire*
tê raśmíbhis tá ṛ'kvabhiḥ sukhâdáyaḥ |
tê vâ'śîmanta ishmíṇo ábhîravo
vidrê priyásya mâ'rutasya dhâ'mnaḥ ||

"For their glory, they (*sc.* the Maruts) united themselves with bright reins and brilliant (ornaments); they, with beautiful *khâdis* and axes, impetuous, fearless, knew of their own Marut troop". The meaning of the fourth *pâda* is not clear as the word *dhâma* used in it is ambiguous.

9, 12, 8 : *abhí priyâ' divás padâ' sómo hinvânó arshati* |
víprasya dhâ'rayâ kavíḥ ||

"The wise Soma flows swiftly with (his) stream (and with the hymn of praise) of the priest to his own places in heaven".

9, 38, 6 : *eshá syá pîtáye sutó hárir arshati dharṇasíḥ* |
krándan yónim abhí priyám ||

"This strong, yellow (Soma), that is expressed for being drunk, rushes crying to his own place."

4, 45, 3 : *mádhvaḥ pibataṃ madhupêbhir âsábhir*
utá priyáṃ mádhune yuñjáthâṃ rátham |
â' vartaníṃ mádhunâ jinvathaḥ pathó
dṛ'tiṃ vahethe mádhumantam aśvinâ ||

"Drink, O, ye Aśvins, of mead with your mead-drinking mouths; yoke your own chariot for the purpose of (drinking) mead; you stimulate with mead the course of the path; you carry a leather-bag of mead".

6, 51, 1 : *úd u tyác cákshur máhi mitráyor â'ñ*
éti priyáṃ váruṇayor ádabdham |
ṛtásya śúci darśatám ánîkam
rukmó ná divá úditâ vy ádyaut ||

"This great own eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, which can not be deceived, arises; the pure and beautiful face of *ṛta* has blazed forth in rising like a brilliant jewel in the sky".

4, 52, 7 : *â' dyâ'ṃ tanoshi raśmíbhir â'ntáriksham urú priyám* |
úshaḥ śukrêṇa śocíshâ ||

"Thou extendest the heaven with thy rays and also thy own broad sky with thy radiant effulgence. O Ushas". The sky, *antariksha,* is called "Ushas' own" probably because Ushas is an *antariksha-sthanîya-devatâ* and the *antariksha* thus belongs to her.

(*To be continued.*)

THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BOMBAY.

A few remarks concerning its origin and growth.

By S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

(*Continued from page* 215.)

The third or Muhammadan period may be held to run roughly from A.D. 1348, when a Gujarat Muhammadan force attacked and seized Mahim and killed the Hindu chief of Chaul, who had dispossessed Bimb's son and successor, Pratapdev, a few years before. The period ends in A.D. 1534, when Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat transferred Bassein and its dependencies, including the seven islands of Bombay, to Nuno da Cunha, Viceroy of Goa, acting on behalf of the king of Portugal. In regard to the population there is little to chronicle during the Muhammadan period, except that the numbers of Naitias or Konkani Muhammadans must have appreciably increased by immigration from the coast towns of Gujarat. Documentary evidence exists that in A.D. 1530 they formed an important trading community in Bassein, and we have the statement of the Portuguese physician, Garcia da Orta, who became Lord of the Manor of Bombay island in 1538, that " the Moors who came from abroad and mixed themselves with the Gentiles (*scil.* Hindus) of this land " formed a definite section of the population at that date. Indirect proof of the growth of the Konkani Muhammadan element during the two centuries preceding Portuguese dominion in Bombay is afforded by the death at Mahim about A.D. 1430 of the Saint Makhtum Fakih Ali Paru, who is said to have served as Kazi of Mahim. His tomb, which is still the most notable feature of the neighbourhood and at which a large fair is annually held, was erected in A.D. 1431, and has acquired a wide reputation for the cure of cases of spirit-possession.

The fourth or Portuguese period runs from A.D. 1534 to 1661, the date of the Marriage Treaty between Charles II and the Infanta of Portugal. Now for the first time one begins to hear of those parts of Bombay, other than Mahim, which have since developed into municipal wards, and of the island of Bombaim, the home of the Koli goddess Mumbai, as distinct from Mahim, Parel, Sion and Worli. Speaking roughly, what are now the northern wards of Bombay City were grouped together under the *kasba* or chief station of Mahim and were in possession of the Portuguese religious orders, while Mazagon and Bombay with Worli and Colaba were grouped together under the *kasba* of Bombaim and were granted on a quit-rent, in lieu of military service, to a succession of Crown tenants or Lords of the Manor. It was from the widow of the last of these, Donna Ignez de Miranda, that the first English governor, Humphrey Cooke, received possession of the Island. The period of Portuguese dominion, far from being marked by any increase of population, was responsible for the flight from Mahim and other islands of many of those who had settled during the preceding Hindu and Musalman periods. The Portuguese religious orders adopted a policy of wholesale conversion to Christianity, and in pursuance thereof showed so much intolerance and perpetrated so much tyranny that both Hindu and Muhammadan residents were forced to leave the Island and seek refuge in the mainland territories of Indian rulers. Christianity was imposed upon all classes indiscriminately,—on Brahmans, Prabhus, Panchkalshis, Bhandaris, Kolis and others ; and in consequence, there existed at the time of the cession of Bombay to the English a considerable Native Christian population in the seven islands, particularly in Mazagon, Parel, and the island of Bombay itself. Besides these, there were a few Portuguese of pure blood, like Christovão de Souza de Tavora, the Lord of the Manor of Mazagon ; a number of Indo-Portuguese, styled 'Topasses,' of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, who possessed the good qualities of neither race ; Dheds or low caste people, who served as scavengers etc ; Malis and Agris, who cultivated gardens and fields ; and a certain number of unconverted Brahmans, Prabhus, Bhandaris and Kolis.

I may pause here for a minute to remark that, despite conversion, the Native Christians of Bombay and Salsette maintained their former Hindu caste distinctions to the extent of refusing to intermarry with other Christians, who had originally belonged to lower Hindu castes ; and this prejudice, I believe, can still be traced among the Christians of Salsette, those, for example, who claim an original Prabhu or Panchkalshi ancestry refusing to marry fellow-parishioners, whose forbears were Bhandaris, Agris or Kolis. So far as the Christian Kolis of Bombay are concerned, their Christianity is of a distinctly superficial type : for they still observe the chief Hindu as well as Christian festivals ; they still visit the shrines of aboriginal Hindu deities like Mumbai and Ekvira as well as the Roman Catholic churches ; and I myself have seen in the *deva-ghar* or god's room of a Koli house images of Christ and the Virgin Mary side by side with the images of Mahadev, Hanuman, and Khandoba. Many of them worship their ancestors and are called on that account *Virkar*, and one of their more curious customs, which they are said to have borrowed from the Native Christians of Salsette, is that of photographing their family corpses. When a member of the family dies, the others prop him up in a sitting posture and have him photographed—a rather gruesome habit which may or may not be connected with the reverence regularly paid to the family dead.

Time will not permit of more than a rapid glance at the classes and castes which settled permanently in Bombay during the British period. Within ten years of the transfer of the Island by the Portuguese, Armenians and Hindu Vanis (Banias) from Surat and Brahmans from Salsette had taken up their residence in Bombay. Of these the Armenians have gradually disappeared in favour of the Bania and the Parsi, and the only legacy of their former settlement is Armenian Lane—a narrow street in the old Fort area. The Parsis were also among the early arrivals, for one Kharshedji Pochaji was contractor for the building of fortifications in 1665, and by 1673 the first Tower of Silence had been built on Malabar Hill. These people continued to arrive in a steady stream, attracted by the prospect of trade, and many well-known Parsi families of to-day trace their descent from men who settled here between 1730 and 1745. The famine of 1790 in Gujarat was also responsible for the immigration of many families. East African negroes and slaves from Madagascar, locally known as 'Cofferies,' were a well-known element of the population during the early British period and continued to be imported until the middle of the nineteenth century. They formed the ancestry of the curious Sidi population, which now resides in the Municipal ward E and supplies the large ocean liners with stokers and other members of the crew.

Another ancient community was that of the Shenvis or Gaud Sarasvat Brahmans, who came from Goa and the South Konkan. They are mentioned in an official letter of 1673 as one of the important classes of Gentus *i.e.*, Gentiles or Hindus, in Bombay, and as being traders and cultivators : and it is probable that some of them were in the Island during the pre-British period. At any rate, immediately after Bombay came into possession of the English, the Bombay Council recorded that they had employed one Ram Simar, *i.e.*, Rama Shenvi, because owing to long residence he had acquired an intimate knowledge of Bombay conditions. In or about 1756 the Kapole Banias immigrated from Gogha and Surat under the leadership of one Rupji Dhanji, the ancestor of Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai, who was the leader of the Bombay Hindus during the 'seventies' and 'eighties' of last century. They were followed towards the end of the eighteenth century by the Bhattias from Cutch and Kathiawar, who have since played a prominent part in the development of the local textile industry. From Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar came also the three chief local Muhammadan sects, Memons, Bohras, and Khojas, of whom the first named are Sunnis and the two latter are Shias. They commenced to filter into Bombay as soon as the trade of Surat declined and arrived in large numbers after the famines of 1803 and 1813. The latter famine was also responsible for the arrival from Cutch of the Dasa Oswal Jains, who are an important section of the trading classes ; while the horse trade with the Persian Gulf and the pearl trade led

to the settlement of Arabs and Persians in the Byculla ward. The Chinese were in the Island by 1830 and have been there in small numbers ever since ; but the Japanese did not appear till much later in the nineteenth century.

The annexation of the Peshwa's dominions in 1818 and the settlement of the Deccan formed the prelude of much closer communication between Bombay and the country above the Ghats than had previously been possible, and the opening of the G.I.P. Railway offered an additional stimulus to immigration of all classes from the Deccan. From 1860 onwards Bombay received the large army of Maratha Kunbis and allied tribes and castes, who are known familiarly in the city as 'Ghatis' or men from above Ghats. The Ghati has no ambition except to work, is frugal in his tastes, and is perfectly satisfied if he finds a narrow strip of ground to sleep on, and secures a wage large enough to allow of two simple meals a day, one or two Manchester cotton coverings, and a rough woollen blanket. He has no preference for any particular form of labour, and will be found serving as dock-labourer, water-carrier, fireman, smith, drain-cleaner, bullock-cart driver, cook, musician, victoria-driver, policeman, and in many other capacities. In the docks, wharves, and the large 'godowns' or warehouses, his best qualities are seen. He manages heavy loads of bales, bags, machinery, timber, with the intelligence and skill of one to the manner born, and his physical endurance during the hottest weather has often excited the wonder and admiration of his employers. Frugal though his fare be, he thrives upon it, declaring in his own terse idiom that on a diet of *bajra* (millet) he can carry a heavy load 15 or 20 miles a day, on a wheat diet, 10 miles, and on a rice diet, 5 miles. The Ghati's chief wealth in Bombay consists of his labour cart and bullocks ; and possessed of these, he is a power in the trade of the city. Though he gives little to commerce in intelligence, he gives a very full measure of service for a scanty wage. Docility and obedience are innate in him, and he knows nothing of the vices to which the European labouring classes are sometimes addicted.

Closely allied in origin to the Deccan Maratha is the Maratha of the Konkan, hailing from Ratnagiri and neighbouring districts, who supplies three-quarters of the textile operative population, a large proportion of the urban constabulary, and the bulk of the menial staff of public and private offices. He also performs domestic service in Hindu households. The presence of this class in large numbers dates roughly from the foundation of the textile industry in 1854 and the establishment about the same date of a regular service of coasting-steamers. The feverish commercial activity which resulted from the outbreak of the American Civil War and the consequent sudden expansion of the Bombay cotton trade largely contributed to the growth of the Konkani Maratha population. By 1865 the number of cotton spinning and weaving mills had risen to 10, by 1875 to 27, and by 1908 to 85, employing daily on the average more than 100,000 hands, the large majority of whom are Konkani Marathas, who will be found in every department of the mills. The rapid expansion of the textile industry has not been an unmixed blessing. Much of Bombay's industrial area includes land which was once covered by the sea at high tide, and, having been roughly reclaimed with town-sweepings and refuse, is damp or waterlogged during the monsoon : and the immigration of the Marathas of the Konkan into this low-lying area was so rapid and so great that adequate arrangements for their housing could not be made. The local government and its sanitary authorities have been endeavouring ever since to mitigate the evils resulting from the industrial activity and the marked increase of the industrial population which occurred after 1860.

As time does not permit of my extending this brief survey, I must perforce leave much of interest unsaid. I may, however, state in conclusion that, as in most Indian cities, each main class or community resides, as far as possible, in its own particular street or quarter. Differences of caste, creed, and custom render this arrangement inevitable. Commencing with the Kolis in prehistoric times, the system has continued to the present day ; so that the

traveller who wishes to meet a Bhattia or Bania, a Jain or a Marwadi, a northern Hindu milkman or a Maratha, a Memon or a Khoja, a Brahman or a Parsi, a Sidi or a Muhammadan weaver from the United Provinces, a Native Christian or a Bene Israel, a Pathan, an Afghan, or a Jew from Baghdad, a Hindu ascetic or a dancing-girl, a Musalman hackney carriage driver from Kathiawar or a Persian ship-owner,—must direct his steps to the particular street or quarter which these classes severally monopolise. An immense field of study is afforded by the characteristics and customs of the diverse population of a city, in which about sixty different languages and dialects are said to be spoken, and in which will be found natives of every part of India as well as of other parts of Asia, of Europe, Africa. and America.

BOOK-NOTICES.

BHASA'S WORKS, a Criticism by A. KRISHNA PISHAROTY. Translated from the *Rasikaratnam*, a quarterly Malayalam Journal. Trivandrum, 1925.

The Editor, Mr. A. Krishna Pisharoty, of the *Rasikaratnam*, a Malayalam Journal of literary research, in 1923, published a series of objections to the attribution of the authorship to Bhasa of thirteen dramas by Brahmaśrî Mahâmahôpâdhyaya Gaṇapati Śastrigal, Curator of Old Manuscripts. Trivandrum. These objections are now (1925) translated into English to secure for them a wider audience than was possible as long as they were confined to the Malayalam language. It will be readily seen that the pamphlet of some seventy pages contains highly controversial matter, but as it is as well to know what can be said against the authorship of Bhasa of the said thirteen dramas, it is worth while to examine and set forth the objections. I do not propose to do more in this notice.

The author observes that all the thirteen dramas are anonymous and that their titles are to be found, not in the prologues, but at the end of the MSS., and he then proceeds to summarise Mr. Sastrigal's argument for believing them to be by Bhasa.

1. Anonymity, an indication of antiquity.
2. Peculiarity of form and technique.
3. Evidence of eminent critics.
4. Passages common to them point to a common authorship.
5. Antiquity and individuality of diction
6. Parallel ideas and passages.

Mr. Pisharoty then proceeds to examine, and incidentally to controvert, each argument. After giving his reasons in detail, and showing on p. 5 that anonymity does not prove antiquity, he concludes on p. 8 "that the custom of mentioning the name of the author has certainly prevailed from the time of Bharata, and that it is not right to surmise that the custom was not prevalent in the days of Bhasa, or to conclude on the basis of such a surmise that the thirteen dramas are the work of Bhasa. This anonymity can be conclusive evidence for attributing them to Bhasa, only if we have other convincing evidence to prove that Bhasa alone among Sanskrit dramatist followed the usual course of withholding the author's name from his dramas."

On the second point—peculiarity of form and technique, Mr. Pisharoty shows (p. 10) that certain of the peculiarities relied on are not confined to these thirteen dramas, and (p. 12) dismisses the whole argument.

On the argument of the evidence of eminent critics. After going learnedly into this contention Mr. Pisharoty states (p. 17) that his "findings are diametrically opposed to Mr. Sastrigal's. There is here a downright disagreement of opinion, and the final conclusion on the point is that the evidence produced by the latter is "thoroughly inadequate to justify such an atttribution to Bhasa, and crediting the dramas to Bhasa must be regarded as unjustifiable."

The next argument is that passages common to them peint to a common authorship. On this Mr. Pisharoty remarks (p. 17) that "technique can be imitated" and that "the common passages are not confined to these thirteen dramas, but are found in others of known authorship." And from his dissertation on the point one might surmise that he thinks Śaktibhadra or Bhasa to be the author wanted. However, on p. 22 we find, not that Śaktibhadra should be credited with the authorship, but that his name would be "a less absurd suggestion than Bhasa's."

The fifth argument is based on antiquity and individuality of diction. Here we have a point that is obviously one not easily dealt with. However, Pisharoty tackles it valiantly. He thinks Mr. Sastrigal vague in his statements, states the diction of the dramas is not uniform, and is of opinion that diction is not always a reliable test, particularly in works in the classical languages. He concludes (p. 25) that the evidence of diction is "insufficient to prove conclusively that even one of the dramas can rightly be atttributed to that ancient poet [Bhasa]," and here he becomes constructive in his criticism: "The very same evidence, when critically examined, leads us to a contrary conclusion that these dramas are not by Bhasa but by some Kerala poet like the author of *Aschârya-chuḍâmaṇi*.

This takes him to the last point: parallel ideas and passages. Mr. Pisharoty goes more deeply

than usual into those most erudite arguments and (p. 36) arrives at the conclusion that the dramas "published under the title of *Bhasa's Works* are not really the works of Bhasa at all," but of some poets of Kerala—"not of any one poet in particular, not even of Śaktibhadra." They are "mere compilations got up to meet a local demand for dramatic works." And this point he takes some trouble to make good (pp. 37-47).

Mr. Pisharoty's final conclusion (p. 47) runs as follows: "From whatever point we may view these thirteen anonymous dramas, we are driven to conclude, not only that they are not Bhasa's works, but that they could all of them never have been the works of any one poet: that, on the other hand they are but compilations made by Kerala poets to suit a new style of staging Sanskrit dramas by the Chakkiyars on the reformed stage: that original compositions failing to satisfy the increased demand for dramas, systematic compilation must have set in, which meant the borrowing of every dramatic concept and poetic expression that came handy to the compilers from older works, or condensing, or partitioning them if their structure or length permitted or called for such treatment with a view to produce a sufficient number of suitable dramas for the reformed stage."

R. C. TEMPLE.

ASOKA, by D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., (The Carmichael Lectures, 1923); published by the University of Calcutta, 1925.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has taken no small part during the last ten or fifteen years in the interpretation, collation and unification of the lithic records of the emperor Aśoka, and is therefore better qualified than most people to give a picture of the life of the Asokan age. He gives as his reason for the publication of the present work the fact that, despite the large amount of research already conducted by scholars into the details of Aśoka's position and career, the actual interpretation of the famous records is by no means yet completed beyond a shadow of doubt, and that there is still work to be accomplished in piecing together the information available in the various imperial Edicts. Some of the information contained in the present work has already been made available in the works of other scholars, and his comparison of Aśoka's position towards Buddhism with that of St. Paul towards Christianity will also be found in Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*. But there are various items of information and several suggestions in the course of the work which are the outcome of Dr. Bhandarkar's own painstaking research, and it is on these that the reader will concentrate his attention. In the first chapter he is careful to show that the formula which opens the Inscriptions is probably derived from Persia and was perhaps a legacy of the Achæmenian conquest and administration of northern India, and that *Piyadarsin* was a *biruda* or epithet of Aśoka, just as *Piyadassana* was of Chandragupta Maurya, according to a Ceylonese chronicle. *Devanampriya*, on the other hand, was an honorific or auspicious mode of addressing or referring to rulers, and was applied equally to Tissa of Ceylon and to King Dasaratha in the cave inscriptions of the Nagarjuni Hill.

Perhaps the most important suggestion in the first chapter concerns the dates given in the Aśokan inscriptions. Dr. Bhandarkar holds that all the dates are those of current regnal years, in opposition to the view hitherto held by scholars, and further that there are really no grounds for supposing that Aśoka's actual coronation took place four years after his accession. His view certainly appears to draw weight from the passage regarding the release of prisoners at the end of Pillar Edict V; and if it is accepted, it involves a revision of the dates of other incidents of his reign, *e.g.*, his conversion, to Buddhism, which according to Dr. Bhandarkar must have occurred in the eighth regnal year. Other interesting facts deduced from the inscriptions are that Asoka's *nakshatra* was *Tishya*, and that the emperor possessed an *avarodhana* or zenana, containing 'pardah' ladies of lower rank than his two queens. In a later chapter Dr. Bhandarkar exposes the fallacy of the view that the seclusion of women was introduced into India by the Muhammadans. He shows that the dramatists Bhasa and Kalidasa and Vatsyayana refer in their respective works to the custom, and that Aśoka's *avarodhana* or 'inner closed female apartments' had its counterpart or model in the *antahpura* or harem mentioned in the *Arthaśâstra*, and he quotes an even earlier phrase of Pânini to prove the antiquity of this feature of social life. Interesting also is the identification in the course of the second chapter of the various countries, provinces and peoples mentioned in the Inscriptions. The Yona (Yavana) province, for example, Dr. Bhandarkar regards as a Greek colony of the period preceding Alexander's invasion, situated on the north-west boundary of India between the Kophen and Indus rivers. Its headquarters were probably at the ancient place, called *Po-lu-sha* by Hiuen Tsiang, remains of which have been found near Shahbazgarhi. Kamboja, which included the present Hazara District, was contiguous to Yona. More remarkable, however, is Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the word *Petenika*, which is associated with *Rástika* and *Bhoja* in the inscriptions. Rejecting the hitherto accepted view that this word (in the plural) means 'inhabitants of Paithan,' he regards it as an adjectival noun signifying 'one who enjoys hereditary property,' and that its juxtaposition with *Rastika* and *Bhoja* indicates that the Mahârâthis of the Deccan and the Mahabhojas of the N. Konkan had in course of time become independent hereditary chieftains in their respective portions of Aparanta.

One is disposed to agree with Dr. Bhandarkar's view that the original Ândhra-deśa of ancient days was far more extensive than the Ândhra-deśa of later ages, though one may doubt whether it really included all the districts specified by the author. Nor can one feel quite certain about his suggestion that Sâtiyaputra was the modern Travancore, though it certainly was situated somewhere in the extreme south of the peninsula. Dr. Bhandarkar, however, is apparently not fully convinced himself of the correctness of his suggestion and leaves the identity of this much-discussed region still open. The Pulindas he locates in the modern Jubbulpore District, and he adduces arguments to show that in the days of Aśoka there were two Choda kingdoms, with capitals at Orthura (Uraiyur) and Arkatos (Arcot), and two Pandya kingdoms, of which the northern included the modern Mysore State. The people who are referred to as forest-folk in Rock Edict XIII are located by Dr. Bhandarkar in the country extending from Baghelkhand to the sea-coast of Orissa, which in the Gupta age was divided into no less than eighteen small kingdoms.

The third chapter deals with Aśoka as a Buddhist, and incidentally discusses the question as to how Aśoka could have combined the rôles of monk and monarch. The combination of the life and duties of a Buddhist Bhikshu with the administrative responsibilities of a wide empire has seemed to many an impossible circumstance, and scholars like the late Dr. V. A. Smith have tried to explain Aśoka's double rôle by analogy with a Chinese emperor, Wu-ti, who lived several centuries later. But the explanation has not been wholly convincing. Dr. Bhandarkar now explains the emperor's connexion with the *Saṁgha* by suggesting that Aśoka became, not a Bhikshu, the daily life of whom would have been incompatible with the performance of imperial duties, but a Bhikshu-gatika, *scil*, one who dwells in the same monastery as the Bhikshus, but who at the same time cannot for cogent reasons relinquish the householder's life and renounce the world. The idea is quite plausible. It is not so many years ago that English men, military and civil officers and merchants stationed in Burma, who desired to learn the Burmese language, were permitted or invited to reside in Burmese monasteries. They had their own rooms in the monastery, and ate their meals there, but were perfectly free to carry out their daily avocations and spend their day as they pleased. They had no obligations towards the monastery and its Burman inmates except to behave like gentlemen. If a concession of this character could be made by the Buddhist priesthood in Burma to persons of another country and faith, there is no radical objection to the assumption that some similar arrangement was made for one who not only held the exalted position of ruler of India, but was also himself a Buddhist.

Chapter IV is concerned with an analysis of the *Dhamma* or *Dharma* of Aśoka; and the author lays stress on the fact that Aśoka was a lay follower of Buddhism and that his preaching was addressed to householders. On this account he makes no mention of *Nirvâṇa* or the Eight-fold Path, which were subjects for the Bhikshus only, but extols *Svarga* as the reward of *dhamma* in the next life. For whereas, as Dr. Bhandarkar explains, the higher spiritual attainments and the goal of *Nirvâṇa* are the aim and prerogative of the full Bhikshu, the doctrine of heaven and hell is prepared and reserved for the edification and acceptance of the ordinary laity. It is also pointed out, by careful analysis of Aśoka's own records, that the emperor had adopted certain elements and ideas from other religions, particularly Jainism; while as regards his methods of propaganda, which are fully described in the chapter on 'Aśoka as Missionary,' it is curious to reflect that the duty of preaching, which was imposed upon the higher district officials of the empire, was a practice observed centuries later by the Portuguese, whose superior officials combined the rôle of preachers with their ordinary duties. The Portuguese were of course wholly ignorant of the example thus set by the Mauryan monarch, and beyond the mere fact that their officers acted as propagandists, their methods bore no similarity whatever to those of Asoka. Indeed, the cruelty and bigotry which they so often displayed under the cloak of Christian zeal would have been utterly repugnant to the Buddhist evangelist. Dr. Bhandarkar devotes his final chapter to an estimate of Aśoka's place in history; and knowing as much as they now do concerning the life and achievements of the great Mauryan, most people, I imagine, will assent to his conclusions on this subject. Dr. Bhandarkar quotes certain statements by Mr. H. G. Wells, whom it is not always wise to follow in matters of history, as his views are apt to be coloured by prejudice: but in the matter of Aśoka's pre-eminent character, the opinion of the novelist appears to be amply justified. The book concludes with an annotated translation of all Aśoka's inscriptions. I have said enough to indicate that Dr. Bhandarkar's book is full of information, as one would expect from a scholar of his reputation, and contains suggestions of much interest to all who ponder over the problems of India's past history.

S. M. EDWARDES.

INDEX

TO

PART DCXCIX-A. VOL. LV—1926.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY. HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

Edited by

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.,
HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
FORMERLY LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY,
AND
STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.,
FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE
AND
PROF. RAO SAHEB S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.,
HONORARY CORRESPONDENT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

CONTENTS.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MAZGAON, BOMBAY.

Agents for Europe and America :

BERNARD QUARITCH, LIMITED, 11 GRAFTON STREET, NEW BOND STREET,
LONDON, W.

INDEX.

F.T.N.I. stands for the Supplement, Folk Tales from Northern India, pp. 41—56.
G.D. stands for the Supplement, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India, pp. 215—262.
P.E.W. stands for the Supplement, Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters, pp. 93—124.
R.A.I. stands for the Special Supplement, Royal Anthropological Institute, pp. 1—5.



Printed by D. F. Pereira, at the B. I. Press, Mazgaon, Bombay, and Published by the Proprietors, Messrs. Gulamhusein Ahmedally & Co., Ltd., Bombay, for the Indian Antiquary, Ltd., London.

NOTICE TO [illegible]

Contributors in India are [illegible] good as to address papers [illegible] the EDITOR, care of the [illegible] Mansion, Bombay.

Contributors in Europe are [illegible] good as to send their [illegible] proofs to Sir R. C. [illegible] F.S.A., etc. [illegible] London.

Contributors of [illegible] greatly oblige the Editor if [illegible] upper half of the first sheet of [illegible] for the convenience of [illegible] instructions to [illegible] printing, submission [illegible] instructions, [illegible] result in confusion and delay.

C[illegible] of the [illegible] ing suggestions :—

1. In preparing [illegible] of [illegible] some and laborious. [illegible] article has been [illegible] other [illegible] tion made, please number the [illegible] with the actual [illegible]

2. Write plainly, [illegible] foreign words. If foreign [illegible] employed, let them [illegible] the type in our fonts. [illegible]

3. Indicate [illegible]

the EDITOR, care of the ...

Mansion, Bombay.

Contributors in ...

good as to send their ...

F.S.A., c/o Messrs. ...

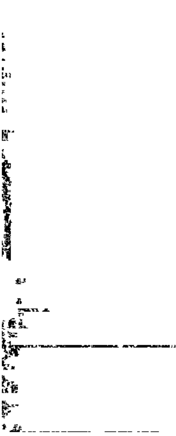
London.

[illegible] TO [illegible]

Contributors in India [illegible] send in [illegible] articles [illegible] the EDITOR, care of [illegible] Bombay.

Contributors [illegible] good as to send [illegible] proofs to the [illegible] U.S.A., c/o [illegible] London.

[illegible]



[redacted]

[redacted]







